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M E M O I R S

O F

PETER HENRY BRUCE, Esq.

A MILITARY OFFICER,

In the SERVICES of

PRUSSIA, RUSSIA, and GREAT BRITAIN.

C O N T A I N I N G

An Account of his Travels in GERMANY, RUSSIA,
TARTARY, TURKEY, the WEST INDIES, &c.

A S A L S O

Several very interesting private ANECDOTES of the Czar,
PETER I. of RUSSIA.

L O N D O N,

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A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE following Memoirs are taken from the manuscript of an officer of great merit and undoubted honour. It is immaterial to add, that they are genuine, as they bear such internal marks of authenticity, as will admit of no dispute.

Any anecdotes that relate to the character of so extraordinary a personage as the Czar Peter, cannot fail of being acceptable to the reader; who will of course enjoy an additional pleasure in receiving them from the pen of a man who was in his service, and in his confidence. It is this circumstance that will render it unnecessary to apologize for any deficiency in point of style, as it is entirely disregarded in this narration, the chief merit of which consists in a strict regard to truth, without the least pretensions to embellishments.

As

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

As the manuscript leaves off abruptly, in the middle of the Rebellion, in 1745, it may be necessary to mention, that the author was, about that time employed in fortifying Berwick; and after having finished that work he retired to his house in the country, where he died in the year
1757

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THE author's descent.—His grandfather's going into the Prussian service.—John Bruce's marriage and descendants, and the author's birth, &c.—His entering into the Prussian service.—Lines on the battle of Ramillies.—A remarkable story of the author's landlady.—His first campaign.—His second campaign.—Defeat of the French.—Siege of Lille.—A remarkable accident to prince Eugene.—Captain Dubois.—A sad accident to the enemy's cavalry.—Bn mot of the duke of Marlborough.—Siege of Ghent.—Third campaign.—Siege of Tournay.—Battle of Malplaquet.—Story of a Swiss recruit.—Siege of Mons.—Fourth campaign.—Siege of Doway.—Siege of Bethune.—A sad misfortune to six Scotch officers.—Sieges of Aire and St. Venant.—Terrible story of the Jesuits at Tournay.

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PETER HENRY BRUCE, Esq.

B O O K I.

The author's descent.—His grandfather's going into the Prussian service.—John Bruce's marriage and descendants, and the author's birth, &c.—His entering into the Prussian service.—Lines on the battle of Ramillies.—A remarkable story of the author's landlady.—His first campaign.—His second campaign.—Defeat of the French.—Siege of Lille.—A remarkable accident to prince Eugene.—Captain Dubois.—A sad accident to the enemy's cavalry.—Bon mot of the duke of Marlborough.—Siege of Ghent.—Third Campaign.—Siege of Tournay.—Battle of Malplaquet.—Story of a Swiss recruit.—Siege of Mons.—Fourth campaign.—Siege of Doway.—Siege of Bethune.—A sad misfortune to six Scotch officers.—Sieges of Aire and St. Venant.—Terrible story of the Jesuits at Tournay.

THE following journal was originally written in the book of German, my native language; but as I have lately enjoyed the leisure of a country retirement, I have, in this year 1755, translated it into English (to me a foreign tongue),

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~~BOOK L~~ tongue), for the entertainment of my friends, and the information of my family, that they might know their connections in Germany, and the particulars of a life spent in war for a series of years in different parts of the globe.

—To begin then,

The author's James Bruce and John Bruce, cousins and descendants of the family of Airth, in the county of Stirling, (a branch of the family of Clackmannan) in Scotland, formed a resolution, during the troubles of Oliver Cromwell, to leave their native country, in order to push their fortunes abroad ; and, as there were some ships in the port of Leith ready to sail for the Baltic, they agreed to go together to that part of the world : but as there happened to be two of these ship-masters of the same name, by an odd mistake the cousins embarked in different vessels, the one bound to Prussia, the other to Russia, by which accident they never again saw each other.

His grandfather goes into the Prussian service. John Bruce, my grandfather, landed at Konigsberg, in Prussia ; from thence he went to Berlin, and entered into the service of the elector of Brandenburg, and by degrees was advanced to the command of a regiment, which was the highest military preferment he ever obtained, notwithstanding the elector, in other respects, shewed him many favours : amongst the rest the following was no small instance of his regard. My grandfather one day attending the elector in hunting, when his highness, in the eager pursuit of the chace, entered a large wood, and was separated from all his attendants except my grandfather, who kept up with him. Night overtaking them in the wood, they were obliged to dismount, and lead their horses, when,

after groping their way for a considerable time in the dark, BOOK I.
they at length perceived a light at a little distance, and upon their getting up to it, they found themselves at the miserable hut of a poor tar-burner, who lived a great way in the wood. Being informed by the poor inhabitant that they were a long way from any town, village, or other habitation, the prince, who by this time was both tired and hungry, asked him what he had got to eat; upon which the poor man produced a loaf of coarse black bread and a piece of cheese, of which the elector ate very heartily, and finished his meal with a draught of water, declaring he had never eat any thing with so good an appetite before. He then enquired how large that wood was, and was told that it bordered on Mecklenburg Strelitz, and that it was of very great extent. Upon this my grandfather observed, that it was a pity such a large tract of land should lie useless, and if his highness would give him a grant of it, he would undertake to build a village in the middle of it, and another upon the spot where they then were. To this the elector agreed, and soon after confirmed his grant by an ample charter, with great privileges annexed thereto; and my grandfather, according to his engagement, built a village in the middle of the wood, which he called Brucenwold (or Bruce-Wood); and another at the tar-burner's hut, which he called Jetzkendorf, its ancient name; for a village of that name had formerly stood there, part of the ruins being then still visible. The elector slept upon some straw till day-break, when he was awaked by the noise of his other attendants, who had been in search of him all night; and on their arrival he departed for Berlin.

BOOK I. My grandfather married at Berlin a lady of fortune, ^{John Bruce's marriage and descendants, and the author's birth.} of the family of Arensdorf, and got with her several estates in land, of considerable value. He had by her two sons and three daughters; the youngest of his sons was my father; his eldest daughter was married to colonel Dewitz, who was afterwards governor of Pomerania, and who got with her a landed estate in that province called Malchin; the second daughter was made abbess of a protestant monastery, founded for the education of young ladies, but she was afterwards married to lieutenant colonel Rebeur, who got Brucenwold for her fortune; and his youngest daughter was married to major general Lattorff, who got for her fortune his most valuable estates of Konikendorff and Woletz: he thus disposed of all the landed estates he got by his wife in-favour of his daughters, and gave his two sons an education only, and a small stock of money. Having placed them in the elector's grand musketeer guards, he left them to push their fortunes in the army, as he himself had done before them. His eldest son, Charles, was a lieutenant at the siege of Namur, where he was killed; his youngest son James, my father, married Elizabeth Catharina Detring, of a considerable family in Westphalia, and was himself then a lieutenant in a Scotch regiment, commanded by the earl of Leven, in the service of Brandenburg, and I was born at Detring-Castle, (the manor-house of that family) in the year 1692.

This regiment was ordered to Flanders, and my father carried my mother with him, and we remained there till 1698, when the regiment returned to Scotland, and whether we accompanied him. The regiment being then put in garrison

garrison at Fort William, I was left in Fife to the care of ^{BOOK I.} a grand uncle, my grandfather's youngest brother, who possessed a small estate near Cupar, at which place I was put to school, where I continued three years, when my father sent for me to Fort William, and I remained there three years more.

In the year 1704, my father got leave of absence from the regiment, and set out on a visit to Germany, whither he carried his wife and family; and after one year's stay with their relations, he returned to Scotland, leaving me behind in the care of their friends, who undertook to educate and provide for me. Their first attempt in my favour was to get me made a page to the king of Prussia, and when I was going to be presented to his majesty by the marshal count Witgenstein, the prince royal enquired of him who I was; and being informed, and also that I was going to be presented to the king for a page, he asked me several questions, and told the marshal that he himself would have me for his page. We returned without my being presented to the king; and on my telling this piece of news to my friends, they would by no means consent; alledging, that the prince did not use his pages well, which my cousin, a son of general Lattorff's, had experienced, who had been page of honour to him, and was then a gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king, for which reason they would not suffer me to accept the offer.

The next thing they endeavoured was to get me into the Royal Academy, as a cadet; but they were told that was now impracticable, as I had refused the prince's offer of being ^{1706.} his page: however, they sent me to the academy, at their ^{own}

BOOK I. own charge, to learn fortification and other necessary branches.

^{1706.} My uncle Rebeur arrived at this time from Flanders ; he was then lieutenant-colonel of the marquis de Varen's regiment, and when he was about to return, I expressed a desire to go with him. He very kindly approved my design, and on the suggestion of my friends, that it might be hurtful to me in my education, the colonel assured them that it would rather be an advantage, as there were in almost every town in Flanders exceeding good masters for teaching fortification and gunnery, &c. and that I should have double advantage in improving the theory by seeing many parts of it in real practice : he farther offered not only to keep me with himself, but that no opportunity to improve my education should be neglected. This kind offer was very satisfactory to all my friends, and he performed his promise with a most paternal care.

<sup>His entering
into the
Prussian ser-
vice.</sup> I sat out with him accordingly for the regiment, which was then in garrison at Maestricht, where we arrived in April 1706, and I was entered in the colonel's company to carry arms, and soon became a proficient in the manual exercises ; after which I found my duty very easy, for I had only to mount guard once in a week, the rest of my time being devoted to the study of fortification, &c.

This year was memorable for the defeat of the French army under marshal Villeroi, at Ramillies : the battle was fought on the 12th of May, when the duke of Marlborough gained a complete victory over them : the victory was followed by the surrender of many places both in Flanders and Brabant. This year was also remarkable for the king of Sweden's entering Saxony, and dethroning king Augustus, where

where he raised five millions sterl^{ing} by levying contribu- BOOK I.
tions. Among the prisoners who were sent in here after
the battle of Ramillies, was a marquis, who was a colonel
of horse: general Dopff, the governor of this place, not
only gave him the liberty of the town, but also allowed
him to go a hunting in the country; yet, notwithstanding
this polite usage, and his own parole, this officer thought
proper to make his escape, but was soon sent back under a
guard by marshal Villeroy, and was afterwards allowed the
liberty only of the town, attended by a serjeant for his
vade mecum.

After the battle the following French verses made their Lines on the
appearance : battle of Ra-
millies,

C'est à ce coup, que Villeroy, ce maréchal incomparable,
Pour avoir bien servi le roy, aura l'Epée de connetable
Car pour un moindre evenement, Tallard un governmens
Varus rends moi mes legions? S'écrioit l'empereur auguste;
Tallard rends moi mes battailions? Dit Lous, à Titre plus juste,
Tallard repond—Hé grand roy, demande lès a Villeroy.

At the house where I lodged with the colonel, I was told A remarkable
a very remarkable story that happened between my land- story of the
lady and her former husband, who was a native of this author's
town; his name was Niepels, and was a captain of dra- landlady.
goons in the Dutch service; he courted our landlady at the Hague, she was the daughter of a merchant there, and after a solemn promise of marriage, he first seduced, and then left her pregnant: her father was so incensed at her, that he turned her out of the house; but an aunt taking compassion on her kept her, till she was brought to bed, and afterwards supplied her with a little money, with which, unknown to

any

BOOK I. any of her friends, she equipped herself in men's cloaths; bought a horse, and went and offered herself as a volunteer in captain Niepels' troop: her offer was accepted, and she continued some time in the troop; the captain used sometimes to tell his volunteer that he was very like an old mistress of his, but never had the least suspicion that he was speaking to the very person: she staid till the end of the campaign, when captain Niepels, being informed of his father's death, left the service, and went home to take possession of his estate. By this accident she seemed to lose sight of any opportunity to call the captain to an account, which was the sole motive of her adventure: however, she followed him, but laid aside the cavalier, and re-assumed the female, and arriving at Maestricht, she prevailed upon his maid-servant (for a little money) to allow her to sleep in a private room in the house for one night, as she was a stranger, and did not chuse to lodge in any public inn. Having thus broke the ground, and got admission, she had an opportunity to reconnoitre the house, particularly the captain's apartment, who was generally abroad the whole day, and came home late at night. She kept very close, till she thought every body in the house was asleep, and then proceeding with a candle in one hand, and a poniard in the other, to his bedside, she awaked him, and asked if he knew her, and upon his demanding what had brought her there, she told him, that he now must resolve to perform his engagement to her, otherwise she was determined to put him to death. The captain thought proper to refuse, and, at the same time, called to his servants; but, before any of them could arrive she struck him in the breast; and notwithstanding all the defence

defence he could make, she gave him several other wounds BOOK I. in different parts of his body ; the servants at length came

1796. to his assistance, and finding their master streaming with blood, they sent for a magistrate and guards to secure her. In the mean time, the lady never offered to move off, but continued upbraiding him with his treachery, although he entreated her to save herself, as he thought himself mortally wounded ; at last the magistrate came with a guard to conduct her to prison, which the captain would not suffer, but begged them to send for a priest, to whom, on his arrival, he confessed how much he had injured the young woman, and desired the priest, in the presence of the magistrate, to marry them without loss of time, which accordingly he did : upon the surgeon's declaring that none of the wounds were mortal, the guard was withdrawn, and by the careful attendance of the surgeon, and the no less tender care of his now spouse, the captain soon recovered of his wounds. They lived afterwards in the greatest harmony for several years, till an ill-fated accident put an end to his life : one evening they were walking together before the Trowen-Port, and passing by an arsenal where a number of old useless arms were lying, a gentlewoman in their neighbourhood, with whom they lived in great intimacy, met them, and taking up an old rusty pistol, said jocularly to captain Niepels, that it was decreed he should die by the hands of a woman, which he actually did, for the pistol went off and shot him dead upon the spot. He left three daughters, who were now marriageable ; his widow (our landlady), some time after his death, married his nephew.

BOOK I. One night as I was on guard with our lieutenant upon Peterberg, and standing sentry with my musket in my hand, the but-end on the ground, and pulling it after me in a careless manner over the gravel, it accidentally went off, and alarmed the whole garrison: this accident obliged the lieutenant to send a serjeant to acquaint the officer at Petersport; and next day I was brought before the governor, where I appeared in great fear, having been told by the soldiers that I should think myself well off if I had only to run the gauntlet; but, to my great joy, it ended in a reprimand, and being told, if a common soldier had done the like he would have been severely punished: this reproof made me more cautious in future when on duty. I was this winter made a serjeant, it being customary in the Prussian service to go through all the low degrees before they can obtain an officer's commission; by this promotion I was advanced two steps above the ordinary rule. In the month of April, 1707, the prince-royal of Prussia came to this place, and reviewed our regiment; and in passing by him, and answering to my name, according to the muster-roll, he recollect ed me, and blamed the colonel for making a *child* first serjeant in his company; but on the colonel's informing him that I performed my duty very well, and was assiduous in learning the military art, the prince seemed to be very well satisfied.

His first campaign. In May our regiment marched from Maestricht, and joined the army at Mildert; and on the 9th of August, we advanced to Genap, with an intention to attack the enemy; on the 10th, at night, we passed the Deyle at Florival, and marched till morning: at day-break we arrived.

rived at Waveren, and found the enemy had retired, upon which we returned to Genap. The French kept retiring before us the whole campaign, so warily, that we were never able to bring them to an engagement, which harassed our troops by continual marches and counter-marches, without being able to effect any thing. Towards winter the army marched to Asche, where we separated, and went into quarters. The prince of Orange was at this time declared general of the Dutch forces, though no more than twenty-one years of age. Our regiment marched to Huye for winter-quarters, where the Swedish general, Oxenstein, was governor: this town lies on both sides of the Meuse, and is but indifferently fortified, yet it is strengthened by a castle and three other forts, erected upon eminences, which protect the town. I mounted guard one day with a Dutch lieutenant, a very plain man, who could neither read nor write, but was advanced from a serjeant for a pretty extraordinary exertion of personal courage and gallant perseverance: the French had besieged and taken a town with all its fortifications, excepting one tower, where this serjeant was posted with twenty men, and which he bravely maintained against every effort of the enemy, till the place was retaken the following year; to which he also contributed greatly from his situation.

As I was one day out with a party, and passing near a monastery, we observed a woman running, and several persons in pursuit of her; we went and met her: being informed that we belonged to the garrison of Huye, she seemed to be overjoyed, and being thus relieved a little from her fright, she told us that she belonged to Namur, and had engaged herself to a French officer without the

BOOK I. consent of her parents, who, upon the officer's demanding her in marriage, had shut her up in that monastery,
1707. from whence she had just made her escape over the garden-wall by the help of a ladder, and that she intended to go to Liege, where she had relations who would protect and favour her: the event justified the assertion, for on her arrival there, her friends procured a passport for her lover, and she got the husband of her own choice.

1708.
His second
campaign. In May 1708, we marched from Huye to join the army, and came to Anderlech on the 23d, when the Prussians, Hanoverians, and Dutch began to form; on the 26th, we went to Bellinghen, where we joined the English and other troops; the army consisted of 180 squadrons, and 112 battalions. The French army, under the duke de Vendome, formed at St. Ghislain, and consisted of 197 squadrons, and 124 battalions; the two royal princes, the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, were with the army. At Bellinghen we were joined by the electoral prince of Hanover, (his present majesty) and prince Eugene, whose troops from the Moselle were come to Maestricht, and soon after joined us.

Defeat of the
French. The French opened the campaign with taking Ghent and Bruges by surprize; they made a fruitless attack on Damme, but they took fort Plassendahl, between Bruges and Ostend; and on the 9th of July, they invested Oudenarde, but on our approach they raised the siege, and retired over the Scheld. We pursued them close, and brought them to an engagement on the 11th. It was six o'clock in the afternoon before our lines were formed; Prince Eugene commanded the right, and the duke of Marlborough the left wings. After a most vigorous and well-conducted attack, the French were beat, and fled under cover of the

night, which saved them from being cut to pieces. Next ~~BOOK I.~~
day 4000 of the enemy were found dead on the field of ————— battle ; 7000 were made prisoners ; besides 535 officers (generals included) ; 34 standards, 25 colours, and 5 pair of kettle drums, but no cannon, the battle being fought without artillery on either side. The loss on our side was 2972, killed and wounded.

After this battle, the French retired behind the canal, ^{The Siege of} Lille. between Ghent and Bruges ; and count Lottum, the Prussian general, was sent with a respectable detachment, to attack their lines at Ypres, which we took and levelled with little or no resistance. The army then went and invested Lille, which was afterwards besieged in form by prince Eugene, whilst the duke of Marlborough covered the siege. This siege, which lasted so long, and cost so much blood, was attended with various events.

A pretty remarkable occurrence happened to prince Eugene in the time of it. His highness received a letter from some unknown hand, and upon opening it, he found it contained a greasy paper, which he immediately and fortunately let fall upon the ground ; his aid de camp took it up and smelted at it, and was directly seized with a giddiness, so much, that they were obliged to give him an antidote : this paper was then tied about a dog's neck for an experiment, and he died within twenty-four hours, notwithstanding a counter-poison was given him. The officers about the prince expressing their concern at the accident, he replied, without the least emotion, " You need not wonder at it, gentlemen ; I have received several letters of this sort before now."

The

BOOK 1. The duke of Burgundy being desirous to know in what condition the garrison was, one captain Dubois undertook to get into the town, and having got undiscovered to the outworks of the place, he stripped himself, and having hid his clothes, swam over seven canals and ditches, and got safe into the town, and returning the same way brought the duke a letter from marshal Bouffleur, which he carried in his mouth, so enveloped that it was preserved quite dry.

Sad accident
to the enemy's cavalry.

1708. In the night of the 28th of September, we were alarmed with a loud crack, and in half an hour another, and at midnight there was such a thunder-clap that the earth was shaken under us: this so alarmed the whole army, that we lay under arms till day-light, when we were informed that 1200 of the enemy's cavalry, having each fifty pounds of powder in bags behind them, were endeavouring to get into the town, but being discovered and fired upon, they spurred hastily forwards, by which means some of the bags got untied, and the powder pouring to the ground, catched the fire which flew from the horse's feet, striking on the causeway, and communicating with the powder in the bags, the whole blew up; about sixty of the men perished on entering the lines, and an hundred near the gate; it was a shocking sight next day, to see the road strewed with half burnt heads, limbs, and carcases of men and horses; the rest of the corps threw away their powder and made off, but it was believed about three hundred got into the town.

Some few days afterwards, fifty peasants were taken endeavouring to convey powder into the town in their wheel-barrows: as they had the liberty to sell milk to the army, they brought it in barrels, two on a barrow; and on this

occasion, one of the barrels on every barrow proved to be powder; and being all convicted, they were every one —————
hung up. 1703.

About this time, Augustus, king of Poland, and several other princes, came here to be eye-witnesses of this famous siege. The enemy, in endeavouring to obstruct our convoys from Ostend, brought on themselves their defeat at Weynendahl. They had strongly fortified themselves by a triple entrenchment round their camp at Oudenarde, where they had retired, beyond the Schelde, which greatly impeded our communication with that quarter, and the duke of Bavaria, at the same time, besieging Brussels, reduced us to the necessity of living for some time on turnips and onions. To relieve ourselves from this distress, and open the communication with our provisions, a sufficient body was detached from the army, and by a forced march in the night, crossed the Schelde, and attacked their lines next day, when they gave us much less trouble than we expected, for they fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving us their whole camp, baggage, and all; in the pursuit, our cavalry took a number of prisoners; here we got a very happy relief of provisions of all sorts in great plenty, after so slender a diet. We next marched to the relief of Brussels, but before we arrived the duke had abandoned the siege, leaving behind him fifteen pieces of heavy cannon, and two mortars; having thus happily succeeded in our enterprize, we returned to the siege of Lisle.

Upon our breaking ground on the glacis, or covered way, I was with the pioneers; the engineer who marked out the ground being killed, and our men quite exposed to
the

BOOK I. the enemy's fire, I took upon me to finish what he had begun, and very soon got ourselves under cover; for which service the general of the trenches for that night, recommended me to our commander in chief, general count Lottum, who wrote to the king in my favour, and in the winter I got an ensign's commission *; but I was generally employed as an engineer. The town surrendered the 23d of October, and as we were then quartered in the barracks, we were better able to prosecute the siege of the citadel, which still held out, and was carried on by sap, under the direction of general Coehorn, in very cold weather and hard frost: this service lasted to the 9th of December, when the citadel also surrendered; on the 10th, marshal Bouffleur marched out with his garrison, and was conducted to Doway.

Surrender of Lille. During the siege, after we had made a lodgement upon the second counterscarp, a Dutch captain, who was posted there, fled from his post, on the approach of the enemy, without making the least resistance; his serjeant, reflecting on the dishonourable retreat, endeavoured to persuade him to return and recover it, but in vain; the serjeant then addressed himself to the men, telling them if they would follow him, he would endeavour to regain the post they had deserted in so cowardly a manner; the men immediately

* The commission was sent to his uncle col. Rebeur, who concealed it from Mr. Bruce on account of his youth, being only in his sixteenth year, till some time next campaign; coming to the knowlege of it, he walked to the door of his uncle's tent, and flicking his halbert in the ground with some resentment, cried out, "There stands the serjeant!" and walking a few steps from it, he called out, "Here stands the officer!" and then received his commission.

agreed,

agreed, rallied, and attacked the enemy with such bravery, BOOK I.
1708.
that the post was very soon regained. Upon a representation of this action, the officer was degraded for cowardice, and the serjeant rewarded as he deserved. A soldier without courage is like a dead corpse ; sorrow hangs on the countenances of its late best friends till it is buried out of their sight.

A bon mot of the duke of Marlborough was at this time much talked of in the camp ; when the king of Poland was going for Saxony, and the duke had taken his leave of him, wishing him a good journey, his majesty also wished his grace a good voyage to England ; upon which the duke answered him in French, “ Que le tems étant fort froid, il ne vouloit pas passer la mer sans Gand ;” that is, the weather being very cold, he would not pass the sea without gloves ; the word *gand*, in French, being the name of the city of *Ghent*, as well as the term for *gloves* ; and his grace was as good as his word.

Our army, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, Siege of Ghent.
1709.
marched immediately for Ghent, and we invested it on the 17th of the same month. The duke of Marlborough commanded the siege, and prince Eugene covered. The garrison consisted of 30 battalions and 19 squadrons ; but the water in their moats being all hard frozen over, and apprehending a surprize, they thought proper to surrender the 31st of December. The garrison marched out the 2d of January, 1709, and was conducted to Tournay ; the duke of Argyle immediately took possession of the town and citadel. The enemy soon after evacuated Bruges, Redfort, Plassendahl, and Leffinghen, which finished this me-

BOOK I. ^{1709.} morable campaign, and our army went into quarters : our regiment marched to Brussels, where we wintered : the French made proposals this winter for a general peace, but they did not succeed.

**Third cam-
paig^{n.}** In the beginning of June we marched to join the army, which was formed the 21st, between Courtray and Menin, 110,000 strong ; from thence we passed the Lower Dyle, and encamped on the plains of Lisle. The French army, which consisted of 130,000, encamped on the plains of Lens, where they entrenched themselves so strongly, that it was thought imprudent on our part to attempt to force them, and it was then resolved to besiege Tournay ; the enemy had so little suspicion of such an attempt, that they had withdrawn a part of the garrison to strengthen their army. The town was accordingly invested on the 27th, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, and the lines of circumvallation were begun the 30th ; count Lot-tum commanded the attack on the citadel, where I was employed for the first time as engineer ; the other two attacks, against the city, were commanded by generals Schullenburg and Fagel, and the prince of Nassau, at this time, took the two forts, St. Amand and Mortagne, which were very necessary in covering the siege. The 6th of July, the lines of circumvallation were finished, and on the 7th at night, the trenches were opened : on the 13th, our batteries began to play upon the town. In short, the town surrendered the 28th, and the garrison to the number of 4000, retired into the citadel ; and two captains, four lieutenants, and 150 men, deserted and came into our camp, and 800 of their wounded were conveyed to Doway. In this

**Siege of
Tournay.**

this siege we had 3,210 men killed and wounded ; the earl BOOK I. of Albemarle was appointed governor in the town.

On the 1st of August, they began to fire upon us from the citadel, which was immediately returned from our batteries, and on the 3d, one of our shells fell into a powder-magazine of their's, which blew up : a cessation of hostilities on both sides was soon after agreed to, on condition of surrendering on the 5th of September, if they were not then relieved by the French army. During the truce, a number of deserters from our army, being then in the citadel, got leave to attempt the making of their escape, but being informed against by one of their number, they were all caught and hanged.

1709.

The conditions of the truce being made known to the French king, he would not agree to the proposition of surrender, which being communicated to the besiegers, hostilities were recommenced. The enemy sprung many mines, and our counter-mining occasioned many skirmishes under-ground ; on the 26th, they sprung a mine, which blew up 400 of our men, and killed Mr. Du May, our chief engineer ; after this they sprung several others, which did us considerable mischief, especially one which left an opening sixty paces long and twenty foot deep, and which bade fair to have blown up a whole Hanoverian regiment, had it not been very opportunely discovered, so that we lost only one private centinel killed by it. On the 30th, we cannonaded and bombarded them so warmly, that they beat a parley on the 31st in the morning : they now stipulated for conditions, but no other terms could be received than surrendering prisoners of war, which they were not, even yet,

BOOK I. disposed to agree to, so that hostilities were renewed, and
^{1709.} upon our redoubled efforts, with every warlike engine, they at last were obliged to surrender on our own terms, and march out on the 5th of September with 3500 men, besides their sick and wounded.

Before Tournay an express arrived from prince Menzikoff to the duke of Marlborough, informing his grace that the czar's army had obtained a complete victory over the king of Sweden at Pultowa, on the 8th of July last.

The battle of Malplaquet. Our next operation was directed against Mons : the elector of Bavaria, who resided there, hearing thereof, retired to Namur. Marshal Bouffleur was now sent by the French king to assist marshal Villars, with orders rather to hazard a battle than suffer Mons to fall in the general career of our arms. On the 8th, prince Eugene joined us with his army, when we were very much fatigued with marching night and day in rainy weather, and through bad roads. On the 9th, we observed the enemy moving towards Blarignies, in order to possess themselves of the woods and hedges of Taniers and Malplaquet ; upon which we moved forward in order of battle ; but as the English were foraging, they could not join us that day, and the two armies began cannonading each other, which continued till night, and was renewed next morning, when we did not choose to engage, as we expected to be joined by twenty-three battalions from Tournay. This day I very narrowly escaped being shot by one of our own soldiers, who being out of his rank I ordered him to it, and as he took no notice of the orders, I struck him across the shoulders and pushing him into it, he stepped back and cocked his piece which he directly

directly presented to my breast ; I instantly parried the muzzle downwards, and the bullet went into the ground between my feet ; the fellow immediately flung down his musket and run for it, but was pursued by the adjutant on horseback, and being a stout fellow, he took the adjutant by the foot, threw him out of the saddle, and was just going to mount, when the major came up with and secured him. But to return ; the enemy by our delay, got time to cut down the wood, and entrench themselves ; in the evening we conversed with the French officers, and entertained each other with such fare as we had, in a very friendly manner ; this we were the more induced to, from a persuasion on both sides, that a cessation of arms was to take place previous to a peace, but we were undeceived by midnight, when every man had orders to repair to his post, and prepare to engage the enemy early next morning.

On the 11th, at two in the morning, we attended at prayers, and then prepared by forming in the order of battle ; about eight we advanced and attacked their entrenchments, which we carried, driving the enemy with great disorder and confusion in their trenches, out of which we beat them, with numbers slain on both sides : the regiment our's was engaged with, happened to be that with whose officers we had been so social the night before, and in it was a lieutenant, who had a brother a lieutenant in our's, and who was with us, a French refugee ; the lieutenant in the French regiment, surrendered himself a prisoner to his brother, and was affectionately received under his protection ; but unfortunately, at the very instant, a soldier of our's ran him through the body, and killed him in his brother's arms :

the

BOOK I. the fellow alledged in excuse for himself, that he did it to
protect his officer, not knowing the other; yet he had seen
^{1709.} the brothers the evening before conversing together as such.
Fatal mistakes occur too frequently in the fury and rage of
contending foes, met on purpose to conquer or die, nor is
it possible to brand this poor fellow with any foul design on
this occasion:—but to my story. The French retiring over
a hedge, we pursued them close, and finding them rein-
forced, we were obliged to retire in our turn, and making
our way back through the hedge, we lost our colonel and
several of our men; but being supported by our line of re-
serve, we were enabled to force the enemy a second time
from the hedge, and to drive them to their second entrench-
ment, from which we also dislodged them, and pursued
them to their third, where I found myself shot through the
leg, and was obliged to be carried out of the field, and ar-
riving at a little cot, I there found the corpse of my colonel,
and got my wound dressed. After a very close engagement
of six hours, the enemy gave way, and left us masters of
a dear bought field, which cost us not less than 20,300
men. The particulars of this famous battle of Malplaquet,
having been so well described by better pens, I shall say no
more of it, only that the enemy lost, by their own confes-
sion, 540 officers killed, 1068 wounded, 301 taken prison-
ers; and 15000 men killed, wounded, and taken. We had
two generals killed, counts Lottum and Fettace.

After this action, it was currently reported that marshal
Villars was for hazarding another battle to prevent our tak-
ing Mons, but was opposed in it by marshal Bouffleur; and
that the king of France had sent the duke of Berwick to
deter-

determine upon the different opinions of these two able gen- BOOK I.
erals, upon the spot. His grace came, and viewing the ground with their late entrenchments, expressed his surprize at their extraordinary strength, declaring, as they had been beaten out of that post, they must be very rash indeed to venture an engagement on the open field.

1709.

While the surgeon was attending the wound which confined me, he told me a diverting story of a young Swiss recruit, who, when his regimentals were making, had procured a round iron plate bordered with small holes, which he desired the taylor to fasten on the inside of his coat, above his left breast, to prevent his being shot through the heart : the taylor being a humourous fellow, fastened it in the seat of his breeches, and the clothes being scarce on his back when he was ordered to march into the field, having no opportunity to get this awkward mistake rectified, before he found himself engaged in battle, and being obliged to fly before the enemy, and in endeavouring to get over a thorn hedge in his way, he unfortunately stuck fast till he was overtaken by a foe, who, on his coming up, gave him a push in the breech with his bayonet, (with no friendly design), but it luckily hit on the iron-plate, and pushed the young soldier clear out of the hedge ; this favourable circumstance made the Swiss honestly confess, that the taylor had more sense than himself, and knew better where his heart lay.—But to nobler deeds.

Our eminent leaders well knowing their advantage by a reputation for habitually beating the enemy, immediately invested Mons, and the trenches were opened on the 25th, under the command of the prince of Nassau ; and, notwithstanding

BOOK I. Standing the continual heavy rains, the siege was briskly pushed on till the 20th of October, when this town also ^{1709.} surrendered, and the garrison marched out 8000 men, besides 1000 that were left behind, and afterwards enlisted in our army.

The victory at Malplaquet, and the taking of Tournay and Mons, finishing this campaign, our army separated, and went into quarters for the winter. Our regiment went to Maestricht; and not being yet recovered of my wound, I was obliged to travel in a waggon with eight wounded soldiers, under the care of a serjeant, to Brussels; in the evening of the 20th, we arrived at Notre Dame de Hall, half-way between Mons and Brussels, where one of our wheels broke, and the waggoner hearing that there was a party of French in the town, thought proper to set off with his horses; the French having got notice of us, came, and after enquiring for the horses, and finding they were gone, sat out in pursuit of them: happily for me, I had formerly been some time in this place, and was pretty well known to the people, who conveyed me to a place of safety, which, for once, saved me from being stripped; the party returning, stript the eight wounded soldiers, and carried the serjeant a prisoner to Namur: the serjeant, on his arrival there, was examined by the governor, whom he informed that he had been on duty, conducting these wounded men to the hospital at Brussels, and that the French party had stripped them naked, and plundered them of a month's pay. The governor severely reprimanded the officer, telling him, he ought rather to have assisted the poor defenceless wounded men, than to have used them in the manner he

had done ; and ordered him to restore both the cloaths and money to the serjeant, and sent the serjeant, under his own pass, to Maestricht: A piece of generous humanity seldom met with in an enemy. Being still ill of my wound, I determined to remain at Hall, although it was an open place, and visited almost every day by parties of the French : here I was attended by an able surgeon, who having none but myself under his care, had the more time to observe the various effects of his treatment of the wound, which could not have been the case had I proceeded to Brussels, where every place was full of the wounded of our army. While I continued here, I met with great kindness from the clergy of the place ; but I staid no longer than I was able to walk with crutches, when I obtained a French pass, and moved to Maestricht, where I found a lieutenant's commission waiting for me.

BOOK I.

1729.

Early in the month of April 1710, we left our winter-quarters, and on the 15th, arrived near Tournay, the place of our general rendezvous ; and on the 20th, the army being formed, was ordered to march at five o'clock in the afternoon, and marched all night in two columns. Our motion was so sudden, so secret, and so regularly conducted, that we entered the French lines next morning, without the smallest resistance : so little did they apprehend this morning visit, that they were out foraging. Our appearance spread such an alarm amongst their troops near Lens, that they made a very hasty retreat, and we encamped in their room upon the plains of Lens.

1710.
Fourth cam-
paign.

On the 22d, early in the morning, we laid our bridges over the Scarp, and the whole army passed the same night,

BOOK I. and next morning we invested Doway; on the 25th, we began our lines of circumvallation, and were joined by the prince of Anhalt Dessau, who succeeded count Lot^{710.} tum in the command of the Prussian troops, and now commanded one of the attacks against the town, and the prince of Nassau the other; on the 29th, our lines were finished, when our cavalry had provided a great number of fascines and gabions for the siege; on the 1st of May, our troops took possession of the castle of Pignonville, and on the 3d, Chateaux-Loway, where 340 men surrendered themselves prisoners; the 4th, our trenches were opened at both attacks, and our men were covered without any loss, as they were not perceived at their work from the town; the 9th, at ten at night, the enemy made a vigorous sally at the prince of Nassau's attack, which put the workmen in great disorder, and levelled some parts of the parallel, but they were at last repulsed with considerable loss, and pursued to the very counterscarp; the action was so very hot that we lost 300 men killed, or wounded, in it, and, perhaps, the enemy were not better off: the parallel was repaired the same night, and next morning, at day-break, a battery of eight guns, and four mortars, began to play with great fury, from prince Anhalt's attack, upon a sconce in the morass, which had greatly annoyed us by flanking our approaches: it was now soon dismounted. They made a sally the same night on our side, but were repulsed with considerable loss. Our heavy artillery arrived on the 10th, and on the 11th, a battery was completed on each attack, each mounting twenty-four guns and eight mortars; the 12th, our approaches were advanced to the first ditch; the 14th, our

batteries being completed, and mounted with forty-eight ^{BOOK I.} guns, and thirty-two mortars and howitzers, we began to play on the enemy's outworks, but chiefly from the prince of Anhalt's side, as the ground in the other was so boggy, that they could not approach there with such regularity. The enemy made a sally on the 17th, but were so warmly received, that they retired in great confusion, leaving above 100 prisoners behind them; on the 21st, they made another, in which a great many fell on both sides. Our army was now strongly entrenched in their lines to prevent the enemy from harrassing us in the siege, as they outnumbered us by 10,000 men, and we had reason, from their continual motions, from the 26th to the 30th, to believe that they meant to attack us, and oblige us to raise the siege; but on the 30th, they encamped within gun-shot of our entrenchments, which slackened our progress in the siege, as every regiment that could possibly be spared was taken off to strengthen the army. The enemy continued four days in this position without offering to disturb us, when marshal Villars thought proper to retire to a league distant from us; upon which the besieging regiments returned to their posts, and we now again pushed on the siege with all possible vigour. The enemy made frequent sallies, and sprung several mines, which, however, did not prevent us from making ourselves masters of the counterscarp on the 5th of June; and on the 17th, we stormed and took a ravelin, and after filling the moat with fascines, we laid our bridges to the main breach of the town: on the night of the 22d, the trenches were opened at Fort-Scarp, which was a regular pentagon; and on the

BOOK I. 25th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy beat the
chamade, and surrendered both town and fort on the 26th.

1710.

The besieged had upwards of 3,000 men killed, and our loss was 8,000 killed and wounded. On the 29th, the marquis d'Albergotti marched out at the head of his garrison, consisting of 4,527 effective men: general Hompesch was made governor of the town, and brigadier des Roques, the chief engineer, was made commandant of Fort-Scarp.

Siege of Be-
thune.

After a few days relaxation from such hard duty, we marched with an intention to besiege Arras, which the enemy perceiving, entered their new lines, and thereby prevented us; and then the siege of Bethune became the object, and was invested on the 15th of July; the trenches were opened the 23d for two attacks, the one by general Schuylenburg, the other by general Fagel. The French army made a feint as if they meant to relieve the town, but finding us ready prepared to receive them, they were satisfied with showing themselves, and withdrew to their lines. The siege advanced briskly; on the 29th, they made a sally at Fagel's attack, where they almost destroyed a regiment of Prussian guards, who had unluckily fired upon them all at once, and having no fire in reserve, the enemy poured in upon them with great destruction: our regiment marched quickly up to their assistance, and saved them from being entirely cut off. There happened, the same day, a sad misfortune to six officers of a Scotch regiment, who were sitting in a row on the banquet, and had their legs all shot off by a cannon-ball, except one, who saved one of his by having it on the banquet; and he was the

A sad mis-
fortune to
six Scotch
officers.

only one who survived the rough amputation, the rest died ^{BOOK I.} of their wounds: this ill-fated ball came from one of our own guns at Schuylenburg's attack, directed at a bastion, but unhappily missing that object, the ball flanked our own trenches. The town threw a great number of bombs at our batteries, but falling short, they dropped, for the most part, into our approaches, which kept us who were employed there in perpetual motion to shun them. One day I happened to step into a demolished cellar, on a necessary occasion, when I had scarce well got there, till the centry called out, "Gare la bombe," and down it came into the cellar, and I made the best of my way out of it, which I had scarce cleared till it burst, and threw down a great quantity of stones and rubbish about me, but I escaped un-hurt. The garrison beat the chamade on the 28th of August, and on the 31st, M. de Vauban marched out at the head of 1,700 men remaining of the garrison, having lost near 2000. It cost us 3,665 men, killed and wounded: major general Keppel was appointed governor.

The sieges of Aire and St. Venant came next in our route; we marched on the 2d, and they were both invested on the 5th of September. The prince of Anhalt commanded the siege of Aire, and the prince of Nassau that of St. Venant. About this time the enemy intercepted a convoy of ours coming up the river Lys in boats with warlike stores and provisions, which they took and destroyed, killed and wounded a great number of the escort, and took 800 prisoners: this, however, did not retard the sieges a moment, for St. Venant surrendered on the 30th, and Mr. Bruyn, the engineer, was appointed governor; we lost 940 men, killed and

Sieges of
Aire and St.
Venant.

BOOK I. and wounded at this siege. The French governor was afterwards committed to the Bastile for his bad behaviour.

1710.

At Aire the trenches were opened the 12th of September for two attacks ; on the 21st, the besieged made a sally, in which they were repulsed with the loss of 40 men ; the 23d, we took a redoubt with little opposition : at this time marshal Villars resigned the command of the French army to marshal Harcourt, who was sent by the king for that purpose. The 8th of October we took another redoubt, sword in hand, and at night made ourselves masters of the covert-way : after much labour and fatigue to us, the enemy beat a parley on the 3d of November, and on the 12th, general Goesbriant, the governor, marched out at the head of 3,628 men, besides 1,500 wounded left in the town ; our loss on this occasion was 7,000 men, killed and wounded ; count Nassau Woudenburg was appointed governor of this town, and our whole army marched to the plains of Lisle, where they separated on the 15th of November, and went into winter-quarters ; and thus ended this campaign, and the last I served in this country.

Perhaps no age or country, not even excepting those fields still famous for the celebrated victories of Julius Cæsar, can parallel the rapid success of the combined arms in these wars ; they were continually conquering armies of superior numbers of well-disciplined troops, abundantly supplied with every warlike weapon and engine of destruction, and commanded by generals of renowned martial knowledge and experience, and still beating them from plain to plain : neither could they find a refuge in their strong walled cities and towns, well fortified with every additional strength of out-

out-works ; these fell by numbers in each campaign, and BOOK I. the conquering heroes shine illustrious in every page of 1710. martial story, grateful to the eye and ear of youthful ardour, and pleasing to the wish of military ambition. But we shall not find them deserving such admiration in the lines of civil life, where humanity constrains us to commiserate the childless parent and the helpless orphan, the severed brother, and the widowed dame's bewailed loss of many dear connections ; and friends lamenting friends, whose lives were sacrificed to raise the structure of the hero's fame, built on the havoc of the desolating sword ; unsheathed on this occasion by the boundless ambition of that aspiring prince, whom nothing could please short of universal monarchy, Lewis the Fourteenth, but was at length obliged to sit down with Gallic sovereignty.

Tournay, of which the earl of Albemarle was now Terrible story
of the Jesuits
at Tournay. governor, became our quarters for this winter. An affair happened here a little while before, in the Jesuits college, which amazed the whole town. A shoemaker, near the college, having a handsome wife, one of the sanctified fathers made frequent visits to bespeak shoes and slippers for himself and others of the fraternity ; at length, giving an order, he desired the fair dame, when they were done, to bring them home to the cloister, and receive the payment for them, and she accordingly carried them ; she was admitted into the house, but never returned, which much alarmed the poor husband and his neighbours, who were naturally led to enquire after her at the college, when they were told, that she had received the money and went away again : as the veracity of these fathers was held sacred, no body

BOOK I. body durst presume any farther enquiry at the college, and
the woman could not be found. Some few days after, a
^{1710.} boy in the night-time getting into a garden, next to that
of the Jesuits, to steal fruit, saw from the top of a tree
(being moonlight) these very holy fathers busy in burying
a corpse in the garden. The boy, knowing that the woman
could not be found, told his father what he had seen; the
father, who lived in the neighbourhood of the shoemaker,
immediately acquainted him of it, and they both, with the
boy, went to the governor, who, upon their information,
sent for the magistrates, and they proceeded altogether to
the Jesuits college; upon going into the garden, the boy
directed to the spot where he had seen the corpse buried:
upon digging there they found the body of the poor woman
with her throat cut, and all her clothes torn in pieces. The
fathers declared their ignorance and innocence of the whole
matter, charging the foul deed upon two of their society
who had disappeared. This was all the redress the poor man
could get for the loss of his wife, notwithstanding the boy
declared there were eight of them at burying the body. The
shoemaker, his neighbour, and his son, thought it prudent
to retire to Holland, where they turned Protestants, to avoid
the merciless vengeance of these sacred fathers. This story
was told me by several officers, who were at that time in
garrison here.

BOOK II.

He goes into the Russian service, a captain.—Overtakes general Bruce at Pruss-Holland.—A curious story of a man at Elbing.—They arrive at Jaweroff, where the Czar is privately married.—General Bruce's rank and honours.—Account of the Russian army.—Their numbers and cloathing.—Expedition against the Turks—Council of war at the Neisser.—Prince Cantamire joins them without any troops.—A swarm of locusts.—The Turks appear.—The Russians form on the river Pruth.—Engage the Turks three days.—The czarina saves the whole army and prince Cantamire.—The king of Sweden upbraids the grand vizier.—The Russians return.—Colonel Pitt's lady and daughter carried off by the Tartars—The grand seignior approves the treaty.—Captain Bruce sent express to Constantinople.—Description of that city.—Its mosques.—Accommodations for strangers.—Strength.—The seraglio.—Scutari, a fine View.—The port and harbour.—Suburbs.—Arsenal.—Air and climate.—The Turks contrasted.—Domestic Accommodations.—Internal government of the country.—Religion.—Worship.—The plague.—Their games.—Diet.—Rest.—Exercise of their youth.—Dress of their ladies.—Ointment of Pilo.—Their predominant interest.—Matrimonial privilege.—Concubine marriage.—Policy of their religion.—Severities on the amorous stranger.—Their laws for debt.—In criminal cases.—Their punishments.—The channel of the captain's information.—New difficulties to the Treaty at the Pruth.—Change of ministry.—A fresh treaty.—Fresh interruption to the peace.—Against which the czar remonstrates.—Ministry again changed.—The Russian ambassador, &c. sent to the Seven Towers.—Mighty preparations for war, which end against the king of Sweden at Bender.—Reflexions.

THIS winter I received an invitation from general *book ii.*
Bruce*, of the ordnance, at Moscow, to enter into ——————
the service of the czar, if I should wish, or think it ad-

* This general Bruce was grandson to James, who left Scotland with my grandfather.

1710.
He goes into
the Russian
service cap-
tain.

BOOK II. viseable to quit that of Prussia ; and acquainted me that
— he was then at Elbing, in Prussia ; where he would be for
^{1710.} some time, so that if I accepted his offer, I might reach him
before he left that place. Pleasing as the idea was to myself,
I could form no resolution in the matter before I had
consulted my relations at Berlin, whose friendship I had al-
ready experienced, and it was by their unanimous consent
and advice, that I determined to accept of his invitation,
and having obtained leave to quit the Prussian service, with
the rank of captain, I prepared for my departure, and left
^{1711.} Tournay on the 25th of March, 1711. I took the route of
Oudenard, Ghent, and Sas, and came to Rotterdam the
30th ; from thence I proceeded by Delft and the Hague,
and got to Amsterdam the 1st of April, and took shipping
in a Dutch vessel for Koningsberg. We passed the Texel on
the 13th, and entering the Sound on the 2d of May, we
anchored at Pillaw the 7th, after above a month's passage :
this is a harbour and fort belonging to the king of Prussia.
I directly waited on the governor, who told me, he had a
letter from general Bruce, desiring him, when I came there,
to forward me to Elbing ; but the governor, thinking the
general would not so soon leave that place, intreated me to
stay with him a day or two, to give him the particulars of
the last campaign. After dinner, an officer came in, who
told the governor, that he was informed by a gentleman
just come from Elbing, that the general was to leave it that
same day : this fixed my immediate departure, and tak-
ing a boat for the opposite shore, I got on horseback,
and arrived at Elbing in the evening, where I found
the general had sat off in the afternoon, having received

an express from the czar to join him with the utmost BOOK II.
expedition.

1711.

Major-general Balck, the governor of Elbing, told me, general Bruce had desired him, on my arrival there, to forward me immediately after him; so I took horse directly, in a very dark night, and overtook him next morning, the 9th of May, at Pruss-Holland, just as he was preparing to proceed on his journey. He received me very kindly, and seeing me much fatigued, desired me now to travel in his own sleeping waggon, where, indeed, I slept all day long, having neither rested, nor tasted viands, from my dining with the governor of Pillaw. This machine is in every respect a chariot, only the bottom is extended sufficient to suffer one to lie at full length on a bed; and I found afterwards every officer, in the Russian army, provides himself with one of them, which is very necessary on their long marches through ill-accommodated countries. General Bruce had engaged several officers of our artillery into the Russian service, two of them for engineers.

Overtakes general Bruce at Pruss-Holland.

On our journey, the general entertained me with a story which happened during his stay at Elbing, where he saved an old man from being burnt: this old man had an only son, who was a druggist in town, to whom he had given all he had in the world, upon condition that he should maintain his father while he lived: the son had behaved pretty well to him, but his wife treated the old man in such a cruel manner, that he was obliged to leave the house and board himself, for which the son, at the instigation of his wife, refused to pay, and the people with whom he

BOOK II. lived, threatened to throw him into prison : this undutiful treatment so affected the old man that he turned quite frantic, and in his madness wrote an obligation with his own blood to surrender himself, soul and body, to the devil, if he, in exchange, would give him a certain sum of money : this was the essay on the part of the old man toward the agreement, and to found the devil's sentiments on the subject, he carried this paper to the crossing of two roads, apprehending that the most likely place to meet him, and there he made a hole and deposited the obligation : returning several times to the spot, to see if the devil had accepted his bill, and finding no money, he grew quite out of humour with the devil, and exclaimed bitterly against him ; some labourers at work hard by, observing his repeated visits to that spot, went to it when he was gone, and dug up the paper, which they carried to the magistrates : the old man was taken up, tried, and sentenced to be burnt. The general being informed of the whole story, interested himself for the old man, and convinced both the magistrates and judges, that his present distressed situation, and dread of future want, had driven the poor old man delirious, and that not he, but his unnatural son, was the object of punishment : the experiment was easy, and the truth would soon discover itself : the old man was set at liberty, the son bound to pay his board quarterly, and the effect soon justified the measure by his father's return to his reason and judgment.

They come
to the czar at
Jaweroff,
where he is
privately
married.

On the 17th, we arrived at Warsaw, and at Jaweroff on the 29th, where we found the czar and czarina, and there they were privately married, at which ceremony the general

ral was present, and upon this occasion he was made master- BOOK II.
general of the ordnance, in the room of the prince of
Melita, who died a prisoner in Sweden. General Bruce ^{1711.} General
Bruce's rank
and honours.
was at this time knight of four orders, viz. St. Andrew,
the White Eagle, the Black Eagle, and the Elephant ; and
here I received my commission as captain in the artillery,
and engineer. I went from hence to Lemberg to get my-
self equipped with the uniforms of my new corps, and was
recommended to a merchant there of the name of Gordon,
who shewed me a great deal of civility. When I return-
ed to Jaweroff the army broke up, and we went in his ma-
jesty's retinue to Soroka, upon the river Neister, where we
joined the Russian army. This place is six hundred miles
south from Elbing.

The Russian army is commanded by a field marshal, and Account of
Russian army.
in his absence by the general of the ordnance, who has un-
der him a lieutenant general and major-general : the regi-
ment of artillery consists of 2,400 bombardiers, gunners,
miners, and matroffes ; besides every battalion of the army
is attended by one field-piece, a three-pounder. The army
is reckoned by divisions, each consisting of nine regiments,
one of which is grenadiers ; each division is commanded
by a general, a lieutenant-general, a major-general, and
a brigadier. A regiment consists of two battalions, or eight
companies, and is commanded by a colonel, a lieutenant-
colonel, and two majors ; and a company consists of 150
private, commanded by one captain, two lieutenants, one
ensign, two sejeants, one sub-ensign ; and has besides, one
captain at arms, one quarter-master, one clerk, a surgeon-
barber, two drums, one timberman, five denzigs (or offi-
cers

BOOK II. cers servants), and fourteen waggoners; making in all 183: each company has their own separate colours, there being four to every battalion. The generals have no regiments, nor the field officers, companies; nor have the captains, the paying, clothing, arming, and recruiting of their companies: this is performed by a commissary, or paymaster; the necessary recruits are demanded from and provided by the governors of the different provinces. A regiment takes its name from the town or province where they were first raised, which name they always retain, excepting the regiments of grenadiers, which bear the name of the commanding general of the division; the companies of a regiment are commonly distinguished by numbers, from the 1st to the 8th; they always charge in battle four men deep, the two foremost ranks kneeling. The czar's own division, at this time, consisted of four regiments, each of which have a company of grenadiers, which no other regiment has; the first of these regiments was that called Prebiasinsky, of four battalions; the second that of Samenovsky, of three battalions; the third that of Ingermanlandsky, three battalions; and the fourth, that of Astrachansky, of two battalions; in all thirteen battalions, including the four companies of grenadiers; each company of this division has a captain-lieutenant additional: there were likewise in his majesty's division two other grenadier companies, who were bombardiers, gunners, and miners. Each battalion of the army has at least one officer that is an engineer.

Their numbers and cloathing.

The forces of Russia, including garrisons, consist of 200,000 foot, and 100,000 cavalry; besides Cossack and Kalmuck

Kalmuck Tartars, who can, upon occasion, bring 150,000 men into the field. All the army wear white cockades ; ————— the horse are clad in blue, faced with scarlet ; the foot in green, faced with scarlet ; and the artillery in scarlet, with blue facings.

The army, which we joined at Soroka, consisted of five divisions, of 6,000 men each, commanded by count Zeremetof, field-marshall ; the first was the czar's own division, the second general Weyde's, the third prince Repnin's, the fourth general Hallard's, and the fifth general Rentzel's ; in all 30,000 foot, attended by a very numerous train of artillery, and intended for an expedition against the Turks. We were to have been joined by 30,000 dragoons, who had been detached to destroy a magazine erected by the Turks upon the Neister, a little above Bender, which service they performed, and beat the Turks there, but were prevented from joining us, as we did not wait their return : besides these, there were 50,000 Kalmuck Tartars, and 20,000 Cossacks in full march to have joined us, and with these reinforcements we should have been 130,000 strong.

His majesty being now resolved to march upon that expedition, without waiting the junction of the rest of his forces, issued a general order for all the women, who attended the army to be sent away : the czarina, however, insisted on attending his majesty in the expedition, which was granted, and the generals petitioned her to obtain the same liberty for their wives, that they might attend her majesty, which was also granted ; and the rest of the officers wives, conceiving themselves equally entitled to the indulgence,

BOOK II. ^{1711.} indulgence, all went, notwithstanding the order. This circumstance, although it considerably augmented the train of our baggage, proved in the end a very fortunate one.

Our present sudden march seems to have been occasioned by the secret engagements of Brancoven, prince of Moldavia, who undertook not only to join us with his whole forces, but to provide us plentifully with provisions and forage, both which were soon out of his power; for the grand seignor coming at the knowledge of this intended revolt, divested him of his principality, and gave it to Cantamire, prince of Wallachia, with orders to him to seize Brancoven, and send him to Constantinople; and with orders at the same time to throw a bridge over the Danube, to facilitate the passage of the Turkish army to oppose us; but the Turk was disappointed as well as we; for some of their principal men using Cantamire extremely ill, he protracted the building of the bridge instead of hastening it; and in the mean time dispatched an officer to the czar, praying him to join him with all expedition with 30,000 men, which number he thought would be sufficient, with his own troops, to prevent the Turks from passing the Danube. The czar having just been disappointed, if not deceived, by Brancoven (for he afterwards made a merit of it to the Turk), could place no confidence in the sincerity of Cantamire, nor was it sufficiently understood, till it was too late to prevent their passing that river.

Council of
war at the
Neister.

On the 14th of June, our army passed the Neister, when his majesty called a council of war, which was held in general Bruce's tent, when prince Cantamire's letter was read; the czar then mentioned his intention to march forward,

without waiting the junction of the rest of the troops; all BOOK II.
 the generals expressed their approbation of the measure,
 except general Hallard, who said nothing. The czar ob-
 serving his silence, ordered him to declare his mind, and
 give him his opinion freely: the general replied, that as
 the council were so unanimous he never would have made
 any objection, had not his majesty insisted on his declaring
 his sentiments; he then frankly told the czar, he was
 very much surprised that the king of Sweden's misfortune
 did not serve as a sufficient warning; for that prince had
 been misled by the advice of the traytor Mazeppa: he could
 not help thinking our present state was a similar one; "The
 " prince of Moldavia has already disappointed us, and for
 " any security we have, the prince of Wallachia may do the
 " same; for although he should mean well himself, yet he
 " may want the power to serve us; for it is to be feared his
 " troops, who have long been used to the Turkish govern-
 " ment, will not enter into his sentiments."—And this
 proved to be exactly the case.

The march, however, was resolved on, and we sat out
 the same night to avoid the intense heat of the day, and con-
 tinued to march for three nights through a barren desart
 heath, without a drop of water all the way, which was se-
 verely felt both by man and beast. On the 18th, we arrived
 at the river Pruth, where we lost a number of our baggage-
 horses by their drinking too plentifully of the water; we
 passed the river on the 19th, near Jaffey, the capital and
 residence of the prince of Moldavia. At this place, prince Prince Cantamire joins them without any troops.
 Cantamire joined us in person with very few attendants, both

BOOK II. fear of the Turks. We continued our march down the Pruth till the 21st, when we met a prodigious swarm of locusts, which, at their rising, overshadowed the whole army like a cloud; they had not only destroyed the grass of the fields, but also the tender bark and leaves of the trees: here again we lost a number of our carriage-cattle for want of forage; it was very remarkable that the locusts never left our army, and we no sooner pitched our tents than they came down and covered the whole camp; we tried by firing cannon and small arms, and burning trains of powder on the ground to chase them away, but all in vain; they attended us on our march along the river till the 27th, when we discovered the Turkish army crossing the Pruth. Upon this,

The Turks appear.

general Janus was detached with a body of troops, and twelve pieces of cannon, to dispute their passage; but he was too late, for half their army had passed before he could get up to them, so that he found it prudent to retreat to the army. It was very surprising, that we had not the least intelligence of so numerous an army, which consisted of no less than 200,000 men, till they were within sight of us.

The Russians form on the river Pruth.

Our army drew up in order of battle, at some distance from the river, in hopes to bring them to an engagement; but they kept out of the reach of our cannon, and extending their numerous army, endeavoured to surround us, and cut us off from the river. We remained under arms till night, and being convinced of their intention, we made a very disorderly retreat to secure the river, our divisions being all separated from each other in the dark, and as we were now greatly deficient in horses, we burnt a number of

our

1711.

our baggage waggons, that they should not fall into the enemy's hands ; and it was surprising, that from the number of fires that were blazing in the night, the enemy did not perceive our confusion, which afforded them a fine opportunity to have destroyed our whole army, and they might easily have done it with a small part of theirs ; but happily for us they seemed to pay greater attention to their own safety than our destruction, for they happened to be very busy entrenching themselves, by which means we escaped their notice. At day-break, our scattered troops were again put in order, and our army formed into a hollow square, the river serving for the fourth side, which enabled us to give our square a larger extent ; and our waggons were formed into an inclosure within, for the protection of the ladies.

On the other side of the river, and opposite to us, the Crim Tartars were placed, where the king of Sweden had pitched his tent to discover the motions of our army. The Tartars annoyed us much in watering, but bringing a few pieces of cannon to play upon them, they were soon obliged to keep at a distance. Our army was surrounded by a chevaux de frize, which was the only protection we had.

The Turkish army surrounded us on all sides, with a design to starve us into a surrender, and this they certainly would have done in a short time, had they not been too eager in attacking us, which they did three days and three nights together ; but fortunately for us, they attacked only one side of our square at a time, which enabled us to relieve our wearied troops, from time to time, as they became harrassed with fatigue, and it also enabled us to rise our

Engage the
Turks three
days.

BOOK II. large train of artillery, which did great execution among them, and luckily they had none to annoy us with, as theirs was not yet arrived.

The czarina
saves the
whole army
and prince
Cantamire.
1711.

On the fourth day, the czar, being informed that our ammunition was all spent to three charges of cannon and small-arms, ordered all the officers in the army, with a number of select men, to mount on horseback and attend his person ; his intention was to force his way through the Turkish army in the night, and to go through Transilvania into Hungary : but the czarina coming to the knowledge of this dangerous resolution, and foreseeing the hazard that would attend the czar, and the loss and disgrace that would fall upon his arms and army, very luckily hit upon a better expedient, which saved us all from destruction. She collected all the money, plate, and jewels which were in the army, for which she gave her own receipt and obligation to pay the respective owners, and with this valuable present she had the address to prevail on the grand vizier to conclude a peace, and the transaction was immediately finished in the name of the field-marshall, without the czar's knowledge who was just going to set out on his very dangerous expedition, which her majesty stopped by telling him, that the grand vizier had agreed to conclude a peace on reasonable terms. This piece of consummate female discretion was followed by a most punctual discharge of her obligations for the plate, &c. on her return home. The principal conditions of the peace, on our part, were to deliver up to the Turks, Azoph, Tainanrog, and Caminiak, and that our troops should evacuate Poland ; for the performance of which, the vice-chancellor

Schafirof,

Schafirof, and major-general count Zeremetof, were delivered as hostages. They insisted also, that prince Cantamire of Moldavia should be delivered up to them; but were told, that the prince had left our camp; which, indeed, was believed by most of ourselves; for the treaty was no sooner thought on, than the czarina shut him up in her own coach, which was known only to the servant who carried him his vi^tuals. The czar ever afterwards entertained a great regard for prince Cantamire, and gave him several landed estates both in Russia and the Ukraine, besides settling a pension of 20,000 rubles a year upon him.

The king of Sweden hearing of this peace, went with the chām of Tartary who was at that time strongly interested in his favour, to the grand vizier, to know why he had concluded a peace so hastily, when he had it in his power to have made the czar and his whole army prisoners. The vizier informed him, that as the sultan had vested him with full powers for war or peace, he could not refuse them peace, seeing they desired it upon terms honourable to the grand seignor, and by which he had gained more than could have been expected. The king answered, that if he had carried the czar a prisoner to Constantinople, they could then have obliged him to grant what terms they pleased; and told the vizier, if he would now give him 20,000 of his best troops, he would yet recover the opportunity that had been neglected, and was on the point of being lost for ever. The grand vizier replied, “God preserve us from breaking a treaty of “peace without any reason, as I have already accepted the “hostages for the performance of it.” Poniatofsky, a Polish

The king of
Sweden up-
braids the
grand vizier.

general

BOOK II. general in Stanislaus's interest, being present, and seeing the king now silent, answered, "There is still a remedy without breaking the treaty, which is to put the king at the head of 20 or 30,000 of your best troops, whereby he may stop the czar, and oblige him to a more honourable peace before he proceeds any farther:" The vizier then said, "This seems to me at least an indirect violation of the treaty, in which it is provided, that the king may return into his own dominions, through the czar's territories, with a strong convoy of Turks, after which, if he pleases, he may make peace with the czar." The king looked full at the grand vizier, and laughed in his face, without making any answer; but in retiring, he turned so short on his heel, that he tore the vizier's robe with his spur, and mounting his horse, he went off highly displeased: he then concerted measures with the chām to attack us with his Tartars on our march, of which the visier being informed, reinforced us with 30,000 spahis, the best cavalry in the Turkish service, to conduct us to the Neister: the vizier sent us also several waggon-loads of provisions as a present to our army.

The Russians
return under
the escort of
a batta.

Matters being thus accommodated, we decamped on the 2d of July, in good order, with drums beating and colours flying: our artillery and baggage marched between us and the river, and our chevaux de frize were carried, each by two men, between us and the Turks, to be in readiness in case the Tartars had persevered in their plan to attack us: we marched this day in view of the Turkish army. At our setting out, colonel Pitt had the misfortune to lose both his wife and daughter, beautiful women, by the breaking of

Colonel Pitt's
lady and
daughter car-
ried off by
the Tartars.

of

BOOK II.
1711.

of one of their coach-wheels; by this accident, they were left so far in the rear, that the Tartars seized and carried them off. The colonel addressed himself to the grand vizier, who ordered a strict enquiry to be made, but to no purpose. The colonel being afterwards informed that they were both carried to Constantinople, and presented to the grand seignor, obtained a pass, and went there in search of them, and getting acquainted with a Jew doctor, who was physician to the seraglio, the doctor told him there had been two such ladies as he described, lately presented to the sultan; but that when any of the sex were once taken into the seraglio, they were never suffered to come out again. The colonel, nevertheless, tried every expedient he could devise to recover his wife, if he could not get both, till becoming outrageous by repeated disappointment, and very clamourous, they shut him up in a dungeon, and it was with much difficulty he got released by the intercession of some of the ambassadors at the court; and was afterwards told by the Jew doctor, that they both died of the plague: with which information he was obliged to content himself and return home.

The grand seignor receiving the news of the peace, and the advantages he had thereby acquired, ordered public rejoicings for three days, and testified his approbation of the vizier's conduct, not only in the reception he gave him, but by complimentary letters and magnificent presents. For want of horses our march was so slow, that it was the 11th of July before we reached Stepanowa, when we crossed the Pruth, and on the 14th arrived at the Neister, after a short, but very dangerous campaign. Next day we crossed this

The grand
seignor ap-
proves the
treaty.

BOOK II. river and reached the camp where we found our dragoons, Cosacks, and Tartars, who were now rejoiced at

1711.

our safe return, having heard very dismal accounts of us.

Captain
Bruce sent
express to
Constantino-
ple.

The bassa, who escorted us here, said when he saw these troops, that if they had joined us, we should have been an over-match for the Turkish army. Our army now separated and took different routes: the czar set out for Germany, taking general Bruce with him, but not before he had wrote fresh instructions for baron Schafirof, and dispatched them by express for Constantinople, of which I was the bearer; so that I returned with the bassa who had conducted us to this place, and who had now only 2000 troops, the rest having left us on the disappearing of the Tartars. The sultan, upon the representations of the king of Sweden, had, in the mean time, twice broke this peace, and renewed it again with the same ease; this was apprehended, and occasioned the instructions I now carried.

On our way to Adrianople, I received many civilities from the bassa, and we arrived there the 2d of August, where we found baron Schafirof and count Zeremetof, and who soon after sat out with us for Constantinople, where we arrived the 25th, being met at some distance from the city by count Tolstoi, our ambassador, who had been confined in the Seven Towers ever since the declaration of the war, but was now released.

A description
of that city. This city is situated on a point, or tongue of land, that jets out into the sea, it is of a triangular form, and fourteen miles in circumference; the houses are generally built of wood, and the streets so narrow, that in most of them, two loaded horses cannot go a-breast; and the houses project

so much at the upper parts, that in many places one may BOOK II.
1711.
with ease step out of the window of one house into the window of another on the opposite side of the street: this capital error in building the city does not seem to have proceeded from want of room, for it abounds in gardens and large squares and courts; and it is owing to this circumstance that a fire is always attended with such devastation, for it burns with irresistible fury till some garden or square puts a stop to its progress. The most regular part of this city is the Befestin, inclosed with walls and gates, where the merchants have their shops, which are ranged and disposed in such excellent order, that a buyer may dispatch his business in a quarter of an hour; every trade has its own separate department in the place; the gates are shut every night at ten o'clock. In another part of the city is the Hippodrome, an oblong square of four hundred paces by two hundred, where they exercise on horseback: towards the end, opposite to the feraglio, are two obelisks; the first consists of one stone seventy feet high, and stands on a square pedestal of marble, adorned with several hieroglyphical figures in relievo; the other is a spiral pyramid built of free stone, without any ornament or inscription; near these stands the serpentine column, a brazen pillar of considerable height; it is composed of three serpents wreathed and twisted together, with their tails on the ground, and ending at top with three gaping heads and forked tongues, expressive of hissing. At some distance from this are two other columns, in a large court appointed for the exercise of the bow and arrow, where the archers very frequently hit a mark not bigger than a shilling, at the distance of

BOOK II. an hundred paces. The Meidan, or parade, is a very large
spacious square, and is the place of general resort of all
^{1711.} ranks.

Its mosques. Among the principal mosques, or churches, in this city, the first is that of St. Sophia, formerly a Christian church; it is an hundred and twenty paces long and eighty broad; on each side is a portico, supported by thirty columns, each sixteen feet high, ornamented with very fine cornices; it is covered with a dome, or round roof, enriched with grand Mosaic work, and finely gilded; the pavement is of marble, and covered over with matting. The tomb of Constantine the Great is still preserved, and which the Turks hold in great veneration, although they suffer neither image or picture in their mosques; this being the only ancient building which now remains here of that kind; for all the rest were built by the sultans, or sultanesses, whose names they bear: they are built after the same model, differing only in size, with a number of fountains, and variety of painting, so that a description of one will convey a just idea of all the rest. The next is the mosque of the sultaness Valide, standing in the middle of a large square court, and is environed with arched canopies, in the form of porticos, under which are many fountains, with cocks for the people to wash themselves at before they enter the mosque; it has but one gate, which is surrounded with a portico of considerable height, paved with white and black marble, and supported by sixty-four columns of red marble, eight of which are porphyry, and placed near the entry; the plafond is adorned with painting and figures after the Turkish manner; the portico is covered with little domes, surrounding a large one in the middle, and all covered

covered with lead ; at the four corners of the building are ^{BOOK II.} four very high turrets, ending in a globe, or crescent, from ^{1711.} which their priests call the people to prayers, having no bells for that purpose.

The city is rendered very commodious with houses, called ^{Accommodations for strangers.} Hans, or caravanserais, for the entertainment and accommodation of foreign merchants ; the Hans consist of four sides of building, inclosing a large square court, with a fountain in the middle ; the walls are very strong, and the windows well secured with bars for the safety of the property lodged there, the roofs consist of little domes, covered with lead, like those of the mosques : the Hans contain only two stories, divided into rooms which have not the least communication with each other ; the lower story is divided into warehouses for goods, and the upper story into lodging-apartments for the merchants, who must provide every thing for their accommodation, for they find nothing when they come in but the bare walls. The caravanserais are a poorer sort of inns, and built in the same manner as the Hans, which serve the poorer sort of strangers, and servants of the caravans, and have stabling for their camels. Besides these, there are no other public houses of entertainment.

The city is surrounded by a high and thick wall, with ^{Strength.} battlements, after the oriental manner, and towers at some distance from each other, defended by a lined but shallow ditch, and on the land-side these works are double ; those, with the Seven Towers, are all the strength of Constantinople. The seraglio is built on the point of the land jetting into the sea ; it occupies a space of four miles in cir-

BOOK II. circumference, the greatest part of which is laid out in gardens ; the whole structure is irregular, for it is indeed only a medley of confused building, ornamented with a number of those little gilded spires and globes without beauty or order ; the principal entry is near St. Sophia, and resembles the gate of an old paltry town, without architecture or ornament ; through this gate we entered into a large court, where, on the right, are the apartments for the sick, and on the left are magazines of arms for a thousand men ; from this court we passed into another, bordered with two large porticos ; on our right hand are the kitchens, and stables for an hundred horse on the left ; but we were permitted to go no farther. The feraglio, with its gardens, &c. is surrounded with a very high wall of grey stone, with a parapet at the top, and battlements like those of the city, and which incloses the old and new feraglios : in the old one, the reigning sultan shuts up the wives of his predecessor, who, at their entrance, look back on the pleasures of this life as gone for ever ; the new feraglio is contiguous to his own palace. The great officers of state are but meanly lodged, most of their houses are inclosed in a kind of park, containing a garden, and a large court, having stables on one side, and kitchens on the other. The many gilded globes and spires, resembling steeples, which appear in all parts of the city, contribute very much to its grand appearance, especially at a distance.

Scutari, a
fine view.

Opposite to the feraglio, on the side of Asia, and distant about a mile and a half, across the water, lies Scutari : it is a large town, adorned with a royal mosque and a palace, or pleasure-house, of the grand seignior's. The brow of a hill,

hill, near Scutari, presents one of the grandest and most ^{BOOK II.} beautiful prospects, perhaps, the world affords: here you have before you, in one view, the cities of Constantinople, Galata, and Pera, the small seas of the Bosphorus and Propontis, with the adjacent countries on the shores of each.

The port and harbour have their peculiar beauties; the ^{1711.} ^{The port and harbour.} harbour is three miles long, and one broad, clean and deep throughout, and so steep to the shore, that the largest vessels come so close you may step on board or a shore without a boat; at the entrance of the port stands Leander's tower, a high square building; there is a fountain on the rock, and some pieces of cannon, which might defend the city on that side in case of necessity. On the opposite side ^{suburbs.} of the port are four considerable towns, but which are rather considered as a part of the suburbs of the city, as their distance from it, over the port, is so small, that a person may easily be heard on the other side; they are named Pacha, Galata, Pera, and Tophana, and are eight miles in circumference. Pera is the place where the foreign ambassadors, and all the Franks reside, for they are not permitted to live in the city; Galata is, properly speaking, a city of itself, handsomely built, being surrounded by walls, and has large suburbs, is exceedingly populous, and mostly inhabited by Franks and Jews, and is a place of great trade. Franks is the general denomination of all strangers that are Christians. At the end of the port stands the grand arsenal, which covers a considerable space of ground, and contains arms for 60,000 men, where also the gallies are laid up in an hundred and twenty arches.

The

BOOK II. The air is extremely pure, and so wholesome, that the inhabitants are never subject to any epidemical disease but the plague, which visits them every year, and then makes a dreadful havock amongst them. It is imagined they would live till they dropt into the grave through mere old age, if their days were not cut off by this pestilential malady; they are so little acquainted with any other mortal distemper, that when they are told the plague is hardly known in Britain, they naturally ask, "What then do the 'people die of?'" The climate, being in 41 deg. 30 min. north, is so temperate, that the winters are never cold, and the summer's heat is greatly allayed by the cooling breezes from the seas.

^{1711.}
Air and cli-
mate.

The Turks seem to contrast us in almost their whole manner: with us it has always been deemed honourable to be espoused to one woman, they marry several wives; we reckon our cloaths the most commodious for being short, they wear theirs down to their heels; we esteem long hair and a smooth face ornaments to the countenance, they shave their heads and let their beards grow; we write in a strait line from left to right, they in a crooked one from right to left: they crouch down to make water like the women.

^{Domestic ac-}
^{commoda-}
^{tions.}

They have no household furniture, such as beds, tables, chairs, looking-glasses, or pictures; the bare walls, with a plafond, or ceiling, and a sopha, are all the riches or ornaments in their rooms; the rich, indeed, paint their ceilings and walls in the Moresco taste, and their sopsas are two feet high, and reach from the one end of the room to the other, under the windows, and are ten feet broad,

covered

covered with Turkey or Persian tapestry ; besides these, BOOK II. there are matts laid along the other sides of the room, five or six feet broad, covered with cloth or velvet, and over these are laid large cushions, stuffed with hair or wool ; these cushions, in the houses of the grandees, are curiously embroidered, or covered with a rich cloth of gold. Loitering in sloth and idleness, cross-legged like so many taylors, the Turk wastes almost his whole time, lolling on these cushions, or sophas, smoking tobacco, and drinking coffee or sherbet, without either diversion or amusement, but playing with shells, or at trick-track, or the goose.

Their provinces, cities, and towns, are governed by Internal go-
vernment of
the country. bassas, sub-bassas, waiwodes, cadis, (or judges), and collectors. The bassa is invested with the supreme executive authority, and is accountable for the revenues of his government to the grand signior ; but to secure a free toleration to be as arbitrary a tyrant in his province as his master is in his empire, he farms his oppressions at an annual tribute to the sultan, of money and slaves, exclusive of the ordinary duties, customs, and imposts of the province : the sultan thus gratified, and a wide door opened to the rapacious avarice of the imperious bassa, he exercises all manner of cruel oppressions, when there is any thing to be got by it, in his whole dominions, without regard to quality or condition, widow or orphan, it is all the same. The increasing treasure of some of these bassas enables them to maintain a standing army of their own, whereby they become formidable to the grand signior himself, who then is obliged to wink at their crimes rather than run the hazard of punishing them ; for the bassa can rely on his forces while

BOOK II. while he is able to pay them ; so that between the despotic tyrant and his grim lieutenant, it is no very desirable privilege to be a Turkish subject.^{1711.} The waiwode is a city magistrate : the collector is a receiver of the customs, and has great authority to take cognizance of all fraudulent practices in the pecuniary revenues, and in all his decisions he is both judge and jury ; and his sentence is always regulated by the profit it yields. The cadi is a judge of the law.

Religion.

The Turkish religion acknowledges four prophets ; Enoch, Moses, Jesus Christ, and Mahomet ; they believe that Judas, who intended to betray his master to the Jews, was by them crucified in his stead, and that Christ was translated into heaven ; they upbraid the Christians with folly and impiety, for believing that he, whom they adore as God, was put to such a shameful death, and the very sight of a crucifix fills them with anger and rage. They believe that Christ will come to judge the world, but that he will first reign a thousand years upon the earth, and marry, and beget children ; but they will not acknowledge a Trinity of persons in the Godhead, alledging, that such an opinion would absolutely destroy the unity of that sovereign Being, without which he could not be God. They say that Christ was succeeded by Mahomet, after whom there shall come no other prophet. They believe that there is an infinite number of angels, some good, others bad ; some white, others black : they imagine, that every man has two angels who constantly attend him, the one writes down all his good, the other all his bad actions. They are of opinion, that the souls of the wicked enter not into hell till the day of judgment, but remain with their bodies

in the grave, where they are tormented by the black angels till the last day, when they will be sent to hell, and suffer most cruel punishments for a certain period, according to the enormity of the crimes they have committed in this life, at the expiration of which they will be released and admitted into paradise, where they will enjoy the same happiness that is appointed for good men ; for, say they, it is inconsistent with Divine goodness to punish a being eternally for the offences of so short a life. They pray five ^{Worship.} times a day ; at day-break, noon, three o'clock, six o'clock, and an hour after the close of the evening : on Friday, being their sabbath, they assemble for public worship, when the Iman, or priest, says prayers, and delivers a kind of sermon, or exhortation, to his hearers, but none of their women are suffered to appear at their public devotions. They keep Lent, which lasts thirty days, and they are obliged to fast every day from morning till night during all that time, being permitted neither to eat, drink, or smoak tobacco : lent ends with the moon, and every body is so impatient to see the new deliverer that is to release them from their loathed abstinence, that they run to the tops of houses, and even of mountains to see its rise ; and as soon as it peeps in the horizon, they salute it with several reverential bows ; their castles also proclaim the welcome news by repeated discharges of their great guns : the three succeeding days are spent in mirth and jollity. They are allowed at no time to eat hog's flesh, or drink wine. They are so entireiy absorbed in their faith of predestination, that they use no precautions in the time of the plague ; and are offended at the Christians for taking care of their health on

BOOK II. such occasions, by shunning the houses where the infection is, asserting they ought not to forsake dying or dead men.

The plague, which sweeps away such vast numbers of the inhabitants, seems in some degree necessary to the preservation of the country, as they are increased one fifth part of their number yearly; which is easily accounted for, when it is considered that every man is allowed to marry four wives and keep several concubines; and there are besides, fifty thousand slaves brought into Turkey every year; so that the country would soon be overstocked with inhabitants, and the people in danger of starving, if their numbers were not curtailed by this malady: yet, notwithstanding the terrible havoc made by the pestilence, the land is still full of people.

Genius.

Their manners and customs, as I observed before, are opposite to ours in almost every respect: they are so far from studying to improve their understanding, that they in a manner glory in their ignorance; and their ambition is so small that they never attempt any thing that has not some sordid interested view for its object; living for the most part a recluse and lazy life, scarce ever looking beyond the sphere of their own families; and provided their wives are handsome, their horses well curried, and their servants submissive and respectful, they have not the smallest curiosity about the affairs of the rest of the world. Contented with their lot they sit whole days on a sophia, without any other occupation than drinking coffee, smoaking, or carefessing their wives; so their whole life is a continual revolution of eating, drinking, and sleeping, intermixt with some dull recreations.

creations. Yet they cannot be accused of luxury in eating, for a fowl boiled with rice, coriander-seed, and sugar, is the best dish that is served up, (which they call pilaw) ; Diet.^{1711.} that, with a dish of fish, &c. and a desert of sweetmeats, makes their meal. When the hour of dinner comes, a servant brings an octangular table of walnut-tree, inlaid with ivory, not above a foot and a half diameter, which he places on the sophera, and having laid the cloth, serves up the dishes one after another; another servant spreads a napkin on his master's knees, and stands behind him to carve and help him to what he chooses, for it is beneath the grandeur of a Turk to do any thing for himself. They never drink at meals, though they are in no hurry in dispatching them, but as soon as the table is removed, a servant brings a cup of sherbet, and then the coffee and tobacco, with which his master beguiles the rest of the day: their vessels are all earthen or porcelain. At night, a mat, sheets, and coverlet, are brought, and they sleep in Rest. the same place where they ate, drank, smoked, played, and loitered all the day. This is their constant course of life, after they cease to be youths; for from the age Exercise of fifteen to twenty they learn the use of arms, the art of riding, the bow, throwing the dart, and other exercises of that nature; and, indeed, they are excellent horsemen, notwithstanding their high saddles and short stirrups, for they rule their horses with great dexterity without whip or spur, instead of which they use a batoon, three feet long, holding it by the middle, and striking with the ends as they find it necessary to direct the horse's motion. Their horses are very swift, and stretch themselves

BOOK II. selves so far, in running, that their bellies seem to touch
 —————— the ground. The Turks throw the dart so admirably
^{1711.} well on horseback, that they hit the mark at full speed, very seldom missing their aim; and what is more surprising, they will throw their batoon as far before them as they can, and following at full speed, catch it on the ground as the horse passes, without giving him the least check.

Dress. The men's dress consists in long and wide breeches, reaching to their ankles, with leathern stockings fastened to the lower part of them, and is called a chackfir, and short boots of red leather: a shirt of very fine cotton cloth, made exactly like a woman's smock, only wider, especially at the sleeves, which are open: over this they wear a cafetan, which is a kind of long cassock, with narrow sleeves buttoned at the wrist; the summer cafetan is made of white cotton cloth, and in winter of silk stuff quilted with cotton, and are girt about the waist with a filken scarf, in which they fasten their poniard, the handle of which is made of silver or ivory, enriched with jewels: they never appear with a sabre but when they go into the country. The upper garment is a cloth gown, which they call a vest; in summer it is lined with taffety, and in winter with costly furs, these with the turban complete the dress of the man.

Dress of the ladies.

The habit of the women is not much different, and that chiefly consists in being a great deal richer. They wear a cafetan of gold brocade, fastened before with large pearls, or a small knot of diamonds; it covers their shoulders entirely, but is cut so low before at the top, that their breast would remain naked if it was not covered with their smock,

and a little waistcoat they wear over it ; this waistcoat fits BOOK II.
very close to the body and keeps up the breasts : above —————
the cafetan, they wear a leathern girdle, covered with
plates and studs of gold and silver, set with precious stones
of beautiful lustre. Their smock is always of the finest
flowered silk, and hangs over their chacksir, which, in
summer is made of the same silk as most agreeable in the ex-
cessive heat. Their upper vest is either of fine cloth or vel-
vet, embroidered, or of rich cloth of gold. Their head dress
is very elegant and becoming ; the talpo is a large high
velvet cap, somewhat resembling a close crown, is made to
sit neat round the head, and widens upwards ; it is adorn-
ed with the richest embroidery of gold, silver, and pearls,
and is so high, that it would fall back on the shoulders,
were it not artificially supported above the head, where they
plait and fold it with much art : it is also enriched with
long strings of pearls curiously interwoven and strewed with
diamonds, rubies, and all sorts of jewels ; it is fastened to
the head, with a frontlet two fingers broad, and so rich that
it may compare with a diadem ; round the frontlet are little
gold chains, with a diamond hanging at the end of one,
an emerald at another, &c. which dangle upon the fore-
head and on both sides of the face. Their hair is braided in
a long tress, four fingers broad, hanging down an incre-
dible length, on some even to the heel ; they wear a little
curl on each side of the forehead, which hangs in a ringlet
down the side of the face, and these curls ingross much of
their attention ; they dye them black, as they do also their
eye-brows, which are extremely regular, for they shape them
with a razor ; the women, in general, paint, and are,
not-

BOOK II. notwithstanding, most charming creatures. They seem to be made for love, their actions, gestures, discourse, and looks, are all amorous, and admirably fitted to kindle that soft passion: since they have nothing else to do they make it their only busines to please. Besides their elegance and beauty, their extreme neatness is none of their least considerable charms; they bathe twice a week to keep themselves clean; and then, by a peculiar art, they crack all the joints in every limb; and to destroy all excrecent hairs they anoint the skin with pilaw, which makes the hairs fall off, and gives an additional whiteness and softness to the skin.

Ointment of
pilaw.

Their predominant interest in marriages, &c.

Matrimonial privileges.

Concubine marriages.

The Turks, who are commonly governed by their interest in their marriages, are obliged to court by proxy, and to be satisfied with a character instead of an interview, which he is only indulged with for the first time when they marry; but there are so many other conveniences allowed them, that they have not the least reason to complain, for they are permitted to marry four lawful wives; and those who desire a greater variety may marry twenty concubines if they please, for this also is a sort of marriage, not to mention the pretty slaves whom they buy and sell. Those who are weary of their wives may turn them away when they please, paying their dowry. It is a pity we have not such a fashion, for if we had, we should see many a fatal knot untied.

The concubine-marriage is still more commodious than the other; the man takes the woman he fancies before the cadi, and tells him that he is willing to keep her after such a rate, and when he has no farther occa-

occasion for her, he will give her such a certain sum of BOOK II.
money.

1711.

This is the usual refuge of strangers, for if they are caught in making free with their females, they run a risque of coming under the talons of the sub-bassa for a heavy fine, which if they cannot pay, they are pretty sure of meeting with the bastinado: and as for the poor kind sinner, she is immediately mounted on an ass, with her face toward the tail which she holds in her hand, and in that position she is carried through the town, and then sold for a slave; this severity makes most strangers conform to the custom of concubinage, or purchasing a slave, to keep clear of the bassa; though the women are far from being cruel, yet by the severity of the bassa, and the suspicious vigilance of the cautious husband, it is almost impossible for a gallant to thrive in this place.

The Turks have no written laws but what are contained in the Koran; all civil affairs are judged by the cadi, according to evidence upon oath, without any regard to writings; and the highest bidder is sure of the decision in his favour; but he that loses, if it be for debt, must pay it immediately or go to prison; and if it so happens that his effects are insufficient to satisfy the demand, the poor debtor must receive a bastinadoe on the sole of his foot for every piaster of such deficiency, unless the sum exceeds five hundred; for they do not punish with a greater number of bastinadoes as the stoutest man would not be able to endure it without the manifest danger of losing his life; and after this his creditor may take or sell him for a slave.

Their laws
for debt, &c.

BOOK II. Judgment, in criminal matters, belongs to the bassa,
 ————— who proceeds in the same manner ; for money atones for
^{1711.}
 In criminal cases. the most barbarous crime, and without it justice degenerates into cruelty ; so that the stake and the gibbet is only the portion of the poor villain : nor can there be a stronger proof of a man's poverty, than his being executed for robbery or murder. There is, indeed, a provision seemingly favourable to murderers, for if the perpetrator is lucky enough to get out of the way before he is discovered, the bassa and waiwode can charge the blood on the people before whose door the murder was committed, if it happens in a town or village, and levy upon them forty thousand aspers, (the stated price), so that there is seldom much diligence used to apprehend the criminal himself ; nor are these tribunals less favourable to the robbers who infest the country.

The most usual punishments in Turkey for capital offences are beheading, drowning, hanging, strangling, burning, impaling, and the strappadœ ; the two last are the most cruel, and are appointed only for Turks who renounce the Mahometan faith, or renegadoes who return to the Christian religion : robbers and murderers are hanged ; women are drowned ; persons convicted of rebellion or sedition are beheaded ; and burning falls to the lot of Christians and Jews who blaspheme against Mahomet or the Koran, or lie with a Turkish woman.

<sup>The channel
of the cap-
tain's infor-
mation.</sup> The bassa, under whose escort I came from the river Neister to Constantinople, shewed me much civility on the way, and treated me with great kindness after our arrival : it was owing to my acquaintance with him that I obtained
 most

most of these accounts of their government, laws, customs, and manner of living. At our first arrival we lived very comfortably here, but that was soon interrupted by the restless intrigues of the king of Sweden, the chancery of Tartary, and the French ambassador. By an article of the treaty at the river Pruth, the grand vizier engaged, that the Swedish king should leave the Turkish dominions; but the king appearing in no forwardness to depart, we still held Azof beyond the time stipulated for our surrendering it, and this produced a second declaration of war, which was the more readily entered into, as the vizier, who had negotiated with us had been dismissed, and was succeeded by another, entirely in the Swedish interest; but the sultan being informed, that this minister had been won over to that interest by largesses, dismissed him; and, by the mediation of sir Robert Sutton and count Colyar, the British and Dutch ministers at this court, a peace was again concluded on the 16th of April, 1712, and the grand seignor acquainted the king of Sweden with it by letter, desiring him to think of returning into his own dominions.

This peace was of no long continuance, for the Swedes soon interrupted it in Poland, where the starost Gruziniski, who had been in Turkey with the king of Sweden, made an irruption with a body of 4,000 Wallachians, Cossacks, &c. and penetrated into Great Poland, where he surprised and carried off a whole regiment of Russians, who were free from all suspicion of an enemy: another party got beyond Polandia, where they took a magazine and 300 Russians. General Baur, coming at the knowledge of what had happened, posted to Polandia, and hastily collected a body of

New difficulties in the treaty of the Pruth.

Change of ministry.

1712.
A fresh treaty.

~~BOOK II.~~ 4,000 Russians, with whom he surprised and attacked Gru-
 ————— zinski, who so little expected it, and was so much off his
 1711. guard, that he did not dispute the matter a moment, but left
 his camp as it stood. General Baur pursued him so close,
 night and day, that he came up with him at Kruterschien,
 where Gruzinski, not choosing to risque an engagement, and
 taking his officers with him, abandoned his troops, and re-
 turned into Silesia ; the whole body of the troops surren-
 dered prisoners of war.

Against
which the
czar remon-
strates.

The czar now remonstrated against this violation of the treaty by the Turks ; and the king of Sweden, although he was the aggressor, exclaimed loudly against the Russians, who had pursued some of the Cossacks into the grand seignior's territories : and the sultan suffering himself to be imposed on by the chancier of Tartary, the French ambassador (M. Desaleurs) and the Swedish ministry, once more broke the peace, on pretence that there were still some Russian troops remaining in Poland. The sultan, however, to satisfy himself, dispatched an aga into Poland, to know if any of our troops were in that kingdom ; and this aga having also tasted the sweets of Swedish influence, made his report accordingly ; while the grand vizier, falling under the imputation of being influenced by the czar, got himself dismissed, and Solyman Bassa was made vizier ; the result of all which was another declaration of war, and an order for the Russian ambassador, hostages, and all the officers in their retinue, to take up their abode in the Seven Towers.

Ministry a-
gain chang-
ed, and the
Russian am-
bassador, &c.
sent to the
Seven Tow-
ers.

Mighty pre-
parations for
war.

This sudden declaration of war was accompanied with orders to all the bassas to raise troops ; and the sultan, with his

his whole court, removed to Adrianople. King Augustus, BOOK II.
and the republic of Poland, had prepared a solemn embassy
to the sultan, which was now on its way, at the head
of which was the palatine of Maslovia, with a splendid
retinue of three hundred persons; but the sultan, who
acknowledged Stanislaus as king of Poland, prevented
the arrival of this embassy, by seizing them on the road
and imprisoning them. King Augustus, however, had
address enough to bring the chancery of Tartary over to
his interest; and Ali Coumourgi, the grand seignior's
reigning favourite, coming into measures with the czar,
found means to persuade his master that the aga, who had
been sent into Poland, had made a false report respecting
the Russian troops there. Solyman the vizier, and the mufti,
being minions of the favourite, although they had both
advised the war, now finding it no longer agreeable to him,
came as easily into his designs; and, notwithstanding all these
mighty preparations, they soon prevailed on their inconsis-
tent master to listen to proposals for an accommodation,
which was now again set on foot. The negotiation was
soon settled, as the chancellor Schaferof and count Zere-
metof had full powers, and engaged for the czar that his
troops should, bona fide, evacuate Poland; and the grand
seignior engaged to oblige the king of Sweden to depart
the Turkish dominions. Upon matters being brought
thus far towards a conclusion, I was dispatched for Peters-
burg, where I arrived the 13th of October; but before I
got there, our troops had evacuated Poland. This peace,
for twenty-five years, was afterwards ratified by the czar;
and on the king of Sweden's refusing to comply with the

BOOK II. grand seignior's requisition to depart the Turkish dominions,
the cham and bassa had orders to force him to it; and that
^{8712.} brought on the famous action of Bender, the particulars
of which are so universally known, that I think it need-
less to repeat them.

B O O K III.

Marriage of the czarowitz.—The czar's celebration of his old wedding.—General Baur's discovery of himself to his friends and brother officers.—The empress Catherine's descent and rise.—Prince Menzikof's rise; and the czar's narrow escape from poison.—Expedition against the Swedes.—Description of the city of Moscow.—An ambassador from Persia; a great fire in Moscow. A young physician burnt by the clergy, who are therefore deprived of the power of life and death, and holidays and convents abridged.—Manners of the gentry.—Description of the women.—Entertainments of the common people.—Marriage.—The princess Natalia's humorous fancy in the marriage of the dwarfs.—Three women punished for drowning their husbands.—The punishment of the knout.—The czar's birth and marriage.—A virtuous young lady.—Moscovite robberies and murders.—The czar's danger by them.—Remarkable murder of Swedish officers by Jews.—Suppression of the robbers.—Seat of empire changed from Moscow to Petersburg.—A description of the czarowitz's person and manners.—Russian restrictions of consanguinity in marriage.—Ridiculous custom in burying.—Their images.—Their baths.—Manner of travelling.—Religious fasts..

THE czar had been in Germany to concert measures BOOK III. with his allies, and then went to Carlsbad, to drink — the waters for his health, from which he found benefit; and from thence he returned, by the way of Dresden, to Targau, where he met with his son, the czarowitz, on the point of his marriage with the princess of Wolfenbuttel, sister to the empress of Charles the Sixth: the czarowitz was in the twenty-second year of his age, and the princess in her eighteenth. Here the queen of Poland made great preparations for celebrating the nuptials, and the ceremony was performed by a priest of the Greek church, with no 1712.
Marriage of
the czar-
witz. great

BOOK III. great pomp, on the 25th of October 1711, the day after
 ————— the czar's arrival; the czarowitz was led to the altar by the
^{1712.} czar, and the princess by duke Anthony of Wolfenbuttel,
 her grandfather; the queen of Poland, and her court, the
 duke of Wolfenbuttel, father to the bride, and the duchess,
 her mother, were present. There was a magnificent enter-
 tainment at the queen of Poland's; and if the czar would
 have suffered the old duke to put himself to that expence,
 he intended the splendor of his grand-daughter's nuptials to
 have been beyond example; but instead of splendor in the
 introduction, it were to be wished there could have been
 greater happiness in the sequel of this matrimonial engage-
 ment, which here indeed could scarce well be expected,
 as inclination, on his part, had no share in the union. The
 czarowitz was entirely given up to low, sensual pleasures
 and mean vicious company, and had no desire at all to marry,
 nor had any other view at present than an endeavour to shun
 the danger he was in of forfeiting his succession to the
 crown: and the princess, whose amiable person and engag-
 ing accomplishments deserved a better fate, entirely missed
 her road to happiness.

The czar's
celebration
of his old
wedding.

A few days after the marriage, the young couple took
 the route for Wolfenbuttel, and the czar that of Silesia,
 for Petersburg, where the czar's marriage with the czarina
 was publicly solemnized the 20th of February, 1712, in
 the following manner. M. Kyking, one of the lords of
 the admiralty, and Jaguzinski, adjutant-general, were sent
 to invite the company *to his majesty's old wedding*, which
 were the terms they were ordered to use. The czar was mar-
 ried in his admiral's uniform, which occasioned the naval
 officers

officers to bear a principal share in the solemnities of the ^{BOOK III.} day ; Vice-admiral Kruys, and the rear-admiral of the gallies, were the bridegroom's fathers ; the empress-dowager and the vice-admiral's lady, were the bride-mothers ; the bride-maids were two of the empress Catherine's own daughters ; but as these princesses were too young to bear the fatigue, the czar's two nieces, daughters to czar John, his majesty's elder brother, performed as proxies : after the ceremony, all the company met at the czar's palace, according to invitation, in a most magnificent procession. Prince Menzikoff carried the marshal's staff, and vice-admiral Kruys was in the fledge, with the czar on his right hand ; the whole entertainment was very splendid ; the evening concluded with a ball and fire-works, and the city was illuminated the whole night, which finished the old wedding.

Prince Menzikoff was soon after sent into Pomerania, to take the command of the Russian army, consisting of 36,000 men, and was then joined by the Danes and Saxons : his majesty soon followed, and taking Berlin in his way, had a conference with the king of Prussia ; from thence, by Hamburg, he went into Holstein, where he took Frederickstadt, jointly with the king of Denmark : Taking leave of the Danish monarch he went to Schonhausen, where he had another interview with his Prussian majesty. The troops left in Holstein, assisted the Danes in reducing Toringen, and making general Steinboch and his army prisoners of war ; and those in Pomerania took Stettin, and blockaded Stralsund. Prince Menzikoff at that time levied, by contribution, from the city of Ham-

BOOK III. burgh 250,000 crowns; from Lubeck 100,000, and from
— Dantzig 150 000.

^{1712.}
 General
 Baur's discov-
 ery of him-
 self to his
 friends and
 brother offi-
 cers.

At the time our troops were in Holstein, general Baur, who commanded the cavalry, and was himself a soldier of fortune, his family or country being a secret to every body, took an opportunity to discover himself, which surprised and pleased those who were about him. Being encamped near Husum, in Holstein, he invited all his field-officers, and some others to dine with him, and sent his adjutant to bring a miller and his wife, who lived in the neighbourhood, to the entertainment. The poor couple came very much afraid of the Muscovite general, and were quite confused when they appeared before him, which he perceiving, bid them make themselves quite easy, for he only meant to shew them kindness, and had sent for them to dine with him that day, and talked with them familiarly about the country: the dinner being set, he placed the miller and his wife next to himself, one on each hand, at the head of the table, and paid great attention to them, inviting them to make free and eat hearty. In the course of the entertainment, he asked the miller a great many questions about his family and his relations: the miller told him, that he was the eldest son of his father, who had been also a miller at the same mill he then possessed; that he had two brothers, tradesmen; and one sister, married to a tradesman; that his own family consisted of one son and three daughters. The general asked him, if he never had any other brother than those he had mentioned: he replied, he had once another, but he was dead many years ago, for they had never heard of him since he enlisted and went away with soldiers

diers when he was but very young, and he must certainly ~~have been killed in the wars.~~ ^{1712.} The general observing the company much surprized at his behaviour to these people, thinking he did it by way of diversion, said to them, " Gentlemen, you have always been very curious to know " who and whence I am; I now inform you, this is the " place of my nativity, and you have now heard from this " my eldest brother, what my family is."—And then turning towards the miller and his wife, he embraced them very affectionately, telling them, he was their supposed dead brother; and, to confirm them, he related every thing that had happened in the family before he left it. The general invited them all to dine with him next day at the miller's, where a plentiful entertainment was provided, and told them that was the house where he was born. General Baur then made a generous provision for all his relations, and sent the miller's only son to Berlin for his education, who turned out an accomplished young man.

As general Baur was the person by whose means the empress Catherine arrived afterwards to so great a height of grandeur, this leads me to relate her story, as I heard it told by those who knew her from her infancy.

She was born at Runghen, a small village in Livonia, of very poor parents, who were only boors, or vassals; her father and mother dying, left her very young in great want; the parish-clerk, out of compassion, took her home to his house, where she learnt to read. Dr. Glack, minister of Marienburgh, seeing her there, enquired of the clerk who she was; and being informed she was a poor orphan he had taken into his house out of charity, what from a

The empress
Catherine's
descent and
rite.

BOOK III. wish to relieve the poor clerk from a burthen he was
not well able to support, and a liking to the little orphan,
^{1712.} the doctor took her home to his house, notwithstanding
he had a numerous family of his own. Here her company
and opportunities for improvement were better, and her
deportment such, that she became equally esteemed by the
doctor, his wife, and children ; her steady, diligent, and
careful attention to all their domestic concerns, ingratiated
her so much with the doctor and his wife, that they made
no distinction between her and their own children. She
ever after showed her acknowledgment with the utmost gra-
titude, in richly providing for all those who could lay claim
to any alliance to the doctor's family ; nor did she forget
her first benefactor the clerk of Rughen. In this happy
situation she grew up to woman, when a Livonian serjeant,
in the Swedish service, fell passionately in love with her ;
she likewise liking him, agreed to marry him, provided it
could be done with the doctor's consent, who, upon en-
quiry, into the man's character, finding it unexceptionable,
readily gave it. The marriage-day was appointed, and
indeed, came, when a sudden order came to the serjeant that
very morning, to march directly with a detachment for
Riga, who was thereby disappointed from ever enjoying his
lovely bride. Soon after this, general Baur, at the head
of an army, came before the town and took it, in the year
1702, when all the inhabitants were made prisoners, and
amongst the rest this lovely bride. In the promiscuous
croud, overwhelmed with grief, and bathed in tears at her
unhappy fate, the general observing her, saw a *je ne saï
quoi* in her whole appearance, which attracted him so much,
that

that he asked her several questions about her situation ; to book III.
which she made answers with more sense than is usual in
persons of her rank ; he desired her not to be afraid, for
he would take care of her, and gave immediate orders for
her safety and reception into his house, of which he gave
her the whole charge, with authority over all his servants,
by whom she was very much beloved from her manner of
using them ; the general afterwards often said, his house
was never so well managed as when she was with him.

1712.

Prince Menzikoff, who was his patron, seeing her one day at the general's, observed something very extraordinary in her air and manner, and enquiring who she was, and on what footing she served him, the general told him what has been already related, and with due encomiums on the merits of her conduct in his house : the prince said, such a person would be of great consequence to him, for he was then very ill served in that respect ; to which the general replied, he was under too many obligations to his highness to have it in his power to refuse him any thing he had a mind to, and immediately calling for Catherine, told her, that was prince Menzikoff, and that he had occasion for a servant like herself, and that the prince had it much more in his power to be a friend to her than he had, adding, that he had too great a regard for her to prevent her receiving such a piece of honour and good fortune. She answered only by a profound courtesy, which shewed, if not her consent, that it was not then in her power to refuse the offer that was made : in short, the prince took her home the same day, and she lived with him till the year 1704, when the czar, one day dining with the prince, happened to see

BOOK III. her, and spoke to her ; she made a yet stronger impression on that monarch, who would likewise have her to be his servant ; from whence she rose to be empress of Russia.

^{1712.} Prince Menzikoff was also a person raised from a very low degree, I was told the following circumstances of his rise. As prince Menzikoff was also a person raised from a very low degree, I was told the following circumstances of his rise. He was born of gentle, but very poor parents ; and they dying, left him very young without any education,

insomuch that he could neither read nor write, nor ever did he to the day of his death : his poverty obliged him to seek service in Moscow, where he was taken into the house of a pastry-cook ; who employed him in crying minced-pies about the streets ; and having a good voice, he also sung ballads : whereby he was so generally known that he had access into all the gentlemen's houses. The czar, by invitation, was to dine one day at a boyar's, or lord's house, and Menzikoff happening to be in the kitchen that day, observed the boyar giving directions to his cook about a dish of meat he said the czar was fond of, and took notice that the boyar himself put some kind of powder in it, by way of spice ; taking particular notice of what meat that dish was composed, he took himself away to sing his ballads, and kept sauntering in the street till the czar arrived, when exalting his voice, his majesty took notice of it, sent for him, and asked him if he would sell his basket with the pies : the boy replied, he had power only to sell the pies, as for the basket he must first ask his master's leave, but as every thing belonged to his majesty, he needed only lay his commands upon him. This reply pleased the czar so much, that he ordered Alexander to stay and attend him, which he obeyed with great joy.

joy. Menzikoff waited behind the czar's chair at dinner, and book III.
seeing the before mentioned dish served up and placed before him, in a whisper begged his majesty not to eat thereof ; the czar went into another room with the boy, and asked his reason for what he had whispered to him, when he informed his majesty what he had observed in the kitchen, and the boyar's putting in the powder himself, without the cook's perceiving him, made him suspect that dish in particular ; he therefore thought it his duty to put his majesty upon his guard. The czar returned to table without the least discomposure in his countenance, and with his usual cheerfulness ; the boyar recommended this dish to him, saying, it was very good ; the czar ordered the boyar to sit down by him, for it is a custom in Moscow for the master of the house to wait at table when he entertains his friends, and putting some of it on a plate, desired him to eat and shew him a good example. The boyar, with the utmost confusion, replied, that it did not become the servant to eat with his master ; whereupon the plate was set down to a dog, who soon dispatched its contents, which, in a very short time, threw him into convulsions, and soon deprived him of life : the dog being opened, the effect of the poison was clearly discovered, and the boyar was immediately secured, but was found next morning dead in his bed, which prevented all farther discovery.

Menzikoff's remarkable introduction soon gained him credit and confidence with his royal master, which from being one of the meanest and poorest, raised him to be one of the richest subjects in the Russian empire ; he was not only dignified with the title of a prince in Russia, but also declared a prince of the Roman empire. He was tall, well-

BOOK III. shaped, very handsome in his person, and of great penetration : he acted as vice-czar at the imperial court, the czar himself appearing at all public meetings as a private person, attended by two servants at most, and, instead of pleasing himself with the pomp of grandeur, his delight was the improvement of his empire, which he visited every where in person.

^{1712.}
1713:
Expedition
against the
Swedes.

The czar, in his return from Germany, came to Riga, where he met the czarina, who had been delivered of a princess, and soon after set out for Petersburg, where he got three hundred vessels in readiness, and embarked the beginning of May 1713, with 12,000 men, and landed at Helsingfoo, in Finland ; returning immediately to Petersburg, he embarked 6000 more, and went back himself with great expedition, and landed them at the same place. He gave prince Galitzin the command of the army, consisting of 20,000 foot, 4000 horse, and a large train of artillery, to act by land, and he himself put to sea with twenty men of war in quest of the enemy's fleet, but found them so advantageously sheltered, that he did not think proper to attack them, but returned and joined the army at Shrendo ; from thence he marched to Abo and besieged it, and the place surrendered the 8th of September : then leaving orders with his generals to follow and drive the Swedes out of Finland, he returned to Petersburg, where he launched several men of war and gallies.

This city being then in its infancy, many thousand workmen were employed in building, and lodgings were very scarce. I had the good fortune to be accommodated in lieutenant-general Bruce's house, who was commandant of Petersburg, and brother to the master-general of the ordnance ;

nance; but the master-general being left in Germany, sent BOOK III. me orders to go to Moscow, and stay in his house with his lady, till he should arrive; for which place I set out the beginning of this year, and coming in view of it, in a clear sun-shine day, I never saw so glorious a sight as this city presented at a distance with the vast numbers of gilded domes and steeples: but my expectations were greatly disappointed when I entered it, finding only ill-built wooden houses, and timber-streets interspersed with churches, and brick-houses, with large courts and gardens, the habitations of the grandees and people of fortune; and coming to general Bruce's house, I met with a very kind reception from his lady, who treated me with the affection of a mother: they had then no child.

Moscow is divided into four parts; the first is called the Description
of the city
of Moscow. Middle, or Red-Town, which is surrounded by a strong brick wall; part of it is taken up by the castle, called Kremelin, being two miles in circumference, and inclosed by three strong walls, each higher than the other, with a deep ditch on the outside, planted with a great number of cannon; and the two rivers, Moscow and Neglina, flow by two sides of this division of the city. The castle is so extensive, that it contains the czar's palace and dwellings for his courtiers, the archbishop's palace, with many others; and two cloisters, one for monks, the other for nuns; besides fifty churches, all built square, each with five domes, the larger one in the middle, and the four lesser ones on each corner, and are all covered with copper gilt: in the middle of the castle stands a very high steeple, called Ivan Welika, or Great John, in which is a bell that weighs 336,000 lb.; it is 19 feet high, 23 in diameter, 64 in circumference,

BOOK III. circumference, and two in thickness, and was founded in
— czar Boris-Goodanof's time, and requires twenty-four men
^{1713.} on each side of the clapper, to draw it from one side to the other ; the bell itself is moveable, but is never rung except on some great occasion. The other part of this division, without the castle, is mostly inhabited by the grandees : here also stands the grand market, which is a very large square, divided into streets, where the merchants and tradesmen have shops for the sale of goods ; and as every kind of merchandize, or manufacture, is clasped by itself, in its own department in the market, makes it very convenient for the buyer, who may suit himself with very little trouble. All the shops are locked at sun-set, and the four gates of entrance into the square, are shut by the officer of the guard, who places centries all round it, and is accountable for the property in the place : the shops are opened at day-break. This is the only place allowed for the sale of goods, and is much the same with the bazaar at Constantinople.

The second part, or division, is called Zaargorod, and is surrounded by a strong wall with battlements, after the Oriental manner, and towers at proper distances ; this is also called Bela-Stena, or White-Wall ; the river Neglina runs through it ; here are the czar's stables, a foundery for cannon and bells, the arsenal, prince Menzikoff's palace, general Bruce's house, and many other gentlemen's houses of rank.

The third division is called Skorodom, or the House-Market, which the word imports, *skoro* signifying *haste*, and *dom*, a *house*. Here one may buy a wooden house of any dimensions, have it carried to the place where it is to stand,

stand, set up, and ready to dwell in, the third day after the ~~BOOK III.~~
purchase; this part is surrounded with mud-walls supported
with planks; the river Jagusa runs through it.
^{1713.}

The fourth division is called Streitza Slaboda, where the military are generally quartered, and is surrounded by an entrenchment; it stands on the other side of the river Moscow, with a fine bridge built over it by prince Galitzin, favourite of the princess Sophia, his majesty's eldest sister, who gave him so much trouble in the reign of czar John.

It is generally computed that there are in this city fifteen hundred churches, chapels, and cloysters; this surprising number is accounted for by every grandee's having a chapel and priest of his own. Moscow lies in 55 deg. 36 min. north latitude, and is in circumference sixteen English miles. A great number of foreigners live in the city, as Greeks, Armenians, Persians, Turks, and Tartars, and are allowed the public exercise of their religious worship. At a small distance from the city, stands a large suburb called Ino-femka Slaboda, or Foreign Town, where the English, Dutch, and Germans live; there are four Protestant and one Roman Catholic church in it; but none of them are allowed to have steeples or use bells. It is pleasantly situated on the river Neglina, on the banks of which are a number of pleasure-houses with fine gardens; the famous general le Fort, built a magnificent palace here; the people live very agreeably among themselves, without interfering with the natives except upon business. As the country abounds with great plenty of every necessary of life, people live at a very cheap rate, and regale themselves with balls and

BOOK III. entertainments, which they can furnish at a very small ex-
 pence. In the summer-time they carry tents, and pitch
1713. them in the neighbouring woods, where they make merry
 with dancing on the green till night. The czar, when
 in Moscow, used always to make one in their parties
 of pleasure and entertainments, and paid them frequent
 visits.

An ambassador from Persia: a great fire in Moscow.

An ambassador from Persia came here with a very great retinue, and remained waiting the czar's arrival; the presents he brought were ten Persian horses, a very large elephant, a lion, a tyger, an ostrich, and several kinds of parrots, and other birds; besides a great quantity of Persian silks and tapestry, and other rarities. Soon after there happened a great and dreadful fire, which consumed the greatest part of the city, especially the wooden houses; the fire broke out in a maiden monastery without the town, and a strong west wind blew the fire upon the city, which set it all on a blaze: the only method they use to stop the progress of a fire is, by pulling down houses at a distance before it, as it is impossible to use fire-engines; the streets being all of timber, burn at the same time with the houses. On this occasion, a poor superstitious man seeing the fire advancing to consume his all, took a picture of St. Nicholas, and holding it between him and the fire, prayed fervently for that saint's protection, but in vain, for the flames soon seized his house, for which he became so enraged at the saint that he threw him into the fire, saying, since he would not save him, he might now save himself: this coming to the ears of the clergy, the poor man was sentenced to be burnt alive. All the brick buildings, such

as churches, and other religious houses, noblemen, and book ^{III.} gentlemen's houses, escaped this conflagration, only the roofs of the latter were burnt without being otherwise damaged, for all the houses of three or four stories high are arched to the top, and their street-doors and window-shutters are of iron.

After the fire, the city was very soon rebuilt from the Skorodom before mentioned, as every body could fit the dimensions of his premises with a house; and it was truly surprising to see with what dispatch the timber was conveyed to the place appointed, and with what dexterity the timber-men rear it. In two days the house was under roof, when the purchaser gave directions where the doors and windows should be, the parts being cut out they put in the frames, which are all ready prepared.

An instance of the superstition of the people, and power of the clergy, happened some time before this fire. A young man, whom the czar had sent to Leyden for his education, having finished his studies in physic, returned a graduated physician, and at a merry-meeting with his friends, they questioned him concerning his religion: he being then in his cups, told them, he was as much of the Greek church as ever, but that he had lost all his faith in saint's pictures, and to prove what he said, he took one down from the wall, and threw it in the fire; whereupon he was immediately seized, and put into the hands of the clergy, who very soon sentenced him to the flames, and burnt him in a most cruel manner; laying the fire at some distance from him to keep him the longer in torment. The czar, being informed of the cruelty of the

BOOK III. clergy, as he had formerly abolished the dignity of patriarch, took this opportunity to deprive them of the power of life and death, and made a law that all the clergy should apply themselves to study, allowing them five years for that end ; after which they were to undergo

^{1713.} Who are therefore de-
prived of the power of life and death.
an examination, and those who were found capable to perform their functions were to be promoted, the others to be discarded. And as three fourth parts of the year

Holidays and convents ^{as} bridged. were holidays in commemoration of some saint or other, whereby the people were for the most part idle, he made a law that no holiday should be kept but in commemoration of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, the twelve Apostles, and St. Andrew, and St. Nicolas, the tutelar saints of Russia. And as there were in the empire many thousand convents full of lazy monks, who lived in idleness, he restricted the number of these houses to fifty, each house to contain no more than fifty monks, each monk to be above forty years of age ; the rest of them to be appropriated to hospitals for such of the army and navy as were become unfit for service, and other indigent persons not able to maintain themselves ; and their revenues for their support : and the monks, who had been bred to no handicraft, and were fit for service, to be employed in the army.

Manners of
the gentry.

The people of rank and fashion in Moscow having laid aside the old customs and manners of their fathers, now live very gay, dress in the French fashion, and converse with more freedom than formerly ; and as the fair sex are allowed all manner of freedom in company, they live in a perpetual round of pleasure and diversion, spending most part of their time in balls and entertainments, inviting each other

other by turns to their houses ; and as they were left lonely book III.
by their husbands, who are for the most part employed —————
abroad, the ladies took Swedish officers who had been
taken prisoners at Pultowa into their families ; some as
stewarts, others as governors to their children, and some
to teach them music and dancing. So that all their balls
were made up with Swedish gentlemen, and other foreigners,
of whom they were very fond.

The Russian women are of a middling stature, generally Description
well proportioned, and might pass for handsome in any part of the wo-
men.
of Europe ; their features far from despicable, were it
not for that preposterous custom of painting their faces,
which they lay on so abundantly, that it may truly be said
they use it as a veil to hide their beauty.

As for the second rank of the people, they still retain Entertain-
much of their old manner of living ; at their entertainments ments of the
none but the men appear ; the master of the house waits common peo-
on his guests till the dessert of sweatmeats comes on the ple.
table after dinner, when he takes his seat amongst them,
and does all he can to encourage them to drink, for it
would be a great reflexion upon them if any of the com-
pany should get out of the house without being drunk.
When the guests offer to go away, the mistress of the
house makes her appearance, at a call, and barely enters
the room, when turning round to the corner where the
family-saints are placed, crossing herself, makes a very low
bow, and then pays her respects by a bow to the company,
without coming a step farther, but remains standing, clad
in a loose gown lined with fur, and a fable cap on her
head, and her face covered over with paint and patches ;
but

BOOK III. but her whole body is unconfin'd, wearing neither stays,
— waistcoat, or petticoat, or even garters to her stockings, and
^{1713.} she wears very high heeled slippers : in this situation, the
landlord introduces all his guests to salute his spouse, one
after another, and a servant is ready behind her with a salver
and four glasses filled with brandy, wine, mead, and beer,
which every body is obliged to drink to the good health
of the lady ; after which she retires without so much as
opening her mouth ; after that other females of the fa-
mily are introduced in the same manner, and thus they
end their entertainments very drunk.

Marriage. In Russia they commonly marry very young ; the parents
make the match without consulting the inclinations of their
children, who do not so much as see one another till they
are introduced in their bed-chamber : this was also customary
among the first rank, till the czar put a stop to it by allow-
ing young people to pay their addresses in person, without
imposing a match upon either against their inclinations,
whereby many fatal marriages were prevented ; but the old
custom still prevails among the inferior ranks. When the
maiden becomes marriageable, the parents send for a broker,
or match-maker (commonly an old woman), and give her
instructions to look out a proper husband for their daugh-
ter ; delivering her, at the same time, an inventory of what
they propose to give with the damsel, as money, jewels,
plate, household-goods, and her clothes, even to her shifts ;
likewise, the number of boors, or vasials, who are com-
monly valued at ten rubles each per annum. With this
list, the broker goes from one bachelor to another, whom
she deems a suitable match for the young lady, enquiring of
them

them if they have an inclination to marry, she can recom- BOOK III.
mend them to a pretty young lady with a handsome for-
tune; shewing them at the same time the conditions. If
the inventory pleases the young man, he signs his name to
it; and, after she has got several subscribers, she returns
the paper to those who employed her; then the parents of
the girl make enquiry into the characters and circumstances
of the subscribers; and having pitched on three or four of
the most eligible, they are invited by the father to an enter-
tainment, where there is a meeting of friends, upon which
occasion the glass goes briskly about: the mother, daughter,
and other female relations, take their stations in the house,
so as to see the company without being seen by them; en-
quiring of the girl which of them she would choose for a
husband, and when the point is settled, as to their choice,
the company, after a hearty drink, is dismissed, none know-
ing who is to be the happy man. The next day some of
the girls relations are sent to confer with those of the in-
tended bridegroom. If the match is accepted, two or three
women, deputed by the intended bridegroom, are permitted
to examine the person of his intended spouse, before whom
she appears stark naked, to shew if there be any personal
defect; after this the friends settle the marriage, the in-
tended couple not being allowed to see one another till they
they meet in the bed-chamber.

The princess Natalia, only sister to the czar, by the same mother, ordered preparations to be made for a grand wedding for two of her dwarfs, who were to be married; on which occasion several small coaches were made, and little Shetland horses provided to draw them; and all the dwarfs in

The princess
Natalia's hu-
morous fan-
cy in the mar-
riage of the
dwarfs.

BOOK III. in the kingdom were summoned to celebrate the nuptials,
to the number of ninety-three ; they went in a grand pro-
^{1713.}cession through all the streets of Moscow ; before them
went a large open waggon drawn by six horses, with kettle-
drums, trumpets, French horns, and hautboys ; then fol-
lowed the marshal and his attendants, two and two, on horse-
back ; then the bridegroom and bride, in a coach and six,
attended by their bride man and maid, who sat before
them in the coach ; they were followed by fifteen small
coaches, each drawn by six Shetland horses, and each con-
taining four dwarfs. It was somewhat surprising to see such
a number of little creatures in one company together ; es-
pecially as they were furnished with an equipage conformable
to their stature ; two troops of dragoons attended the proce-
ssion to keep off the mob, and many persons of fashion were
invited to the wedding, who attended in their coaches to the
church, where the small couple were married ; from thence
the procession returned in order to the princess's palace, where
a grand entertainment was prepared for the company ; two
long tables were covered, on each side of a long hall, where
the company of dwarfs dined together ; the princess, with her
two nieces, princess Anne and Elizabeth, the czar's daugh-
ters, were at the trouble themselves to see them all seated and
well attended, before they sat down to their own table.
At night the princesses, attended by the nobility, conducted
the married couple to bed in grand state : after that
ceremony, the dwarf-company had a large room allotted
them to make merry among themselves ; the entertain-
ment concluded with a ball, which lasted till day-light.
The company which attended the princesses on this

occa-

occasion were so numerous, that they filled several book III. rooms.

Some little time after this I saw three women buried alive for drowning their husbands: they had, it seems, crossed the Mosco in a boat, all three together in search of their husbands, whom they found all drunk in a public house, and endeavouring to persuade them to go home, were severely beaten by them; however, by the assistance of some other people, they got them at last into the boat where they fell asleep; the wives to be revenged on their husbands for beating them, when the boat had reached the middle of the river, threw them one after another into the river, and after they had drowned them, they came a-shore very unconcerned. The matter immediately came to light; they were seized, tried, condemned, and ordered to be put alive into the ground up to their necks, there to remain till they died; two of them lived ten, and the other eleven days; they spoke the first three days, complaining of great pain, but not after that; they had certainly got some sustenance in the night time, or they could not have existed so long; the oldest of them was not twenty years of age.

If a man kills his wife, or slave, under correction (as they term it), he is only whipt with the knout; which is thus performed: a lusty fellow takes him upon his back, and another ties his feet with a cord, which comes through between the legs of the person who carries him. In this posture he is held so fast that he cannot stir, and being stript to the middle, the executioner with the knout, which is a strap of dried elk-skin, untanned, fastened to a stick, which

BOOK III. he applies to the back so dexterously, that every lash brings ^{1713.} the blood, or leaves a wale as thick as one's finger: this is called the moderate; but when the sentence orders it to be more severe, then the executioner, advancing three or four steps, till he is within reach of the offender, gives the first stroke in the middle of the back, retreating at every stroke, and is so expert that he never hits twice in the same place; each stroke brings the flesh with it. Where the punishment is ordered with the utmost severity, he strikes the flanks, and often cuts into the bowels, which few survive. It is a general remark that lean people turn fat after the knout; and that it is an infallible cure for those who are hide-bound.

Besides this, they have another way of chastising, called the batoags, which is used in families for the correction of children and slaves, and also in the army. The person to undergo this, after pulling off his clothes to his drawers, is laid flat on his belly on the ground; one fits across his head and neck, another upon his feet, each furnished with a good switch, with which they soundly tickle his back.

The czar's birth and marriage.

During my residence in Moscow, I was told the following particulars of the czar. He was born in the year 1672, and was married in 1690, at the age of eighteen, to Otrokessa Lupochin, a boyar's daughter, by whom he had prince Alexis: some time after he turned her away, and shut her up in a monastery, on suspicion of disloyalty to his bed. It was said, that in one of her jealous fits, she charged prince Menzikoff with carrying the czar to drabs of his former acquaintance, who had been his customers for cakes; upbraiding him with his first occupation, and that Menzikoff ever after bore an irreconcilable enmity to both

both her and her son. After the divorce, one miss Mons, a very beautiful young lady, born at Moscow, of foreign parents, was much in favour with the czar ; but when he was abroad, Mr. Keyserling, then residing at Moscow as envoy from the king of Prussia, paid his addresses to, and married her. When the czar returned, he was so much offended at Keyserling, that he ordered him to leave Moscow, which occasioned his immediate recall by the king his master, who sent another in his room. It was believed, if his public character had not protected him, he would have severely felt his majesty's displeasure.

The czar was some time after smitten with the charms of another beautiful young lady, the daughter of a foreign merchant in this city : he first saw her in her father's house, where he dined one day ; he was so much taken with her appearance, that he offered her any terms she pleased, if she would live with him ; which this virtuous young woman modestly refused, but dreading the effects of his authority, she put on a resolution, and left Moscow in the night, without communicating her design even to her parents. Having provided a little money for her support, she travelled on foot several miles into the country, till she arrived at a small village where her nurse lived with her husband and their daughter, the young lady's foster-sister, to whom she discovered her intention of concealing herself in the wood near that village : and to prevent any discovery, she set out the same night, accompanied by the husband and daughter. The husband, being a timber-man by trade, and well acquainted with the wood, conducted her to a little dry spot in the middle of a morass, and there he built a hut for her habi-

BOOK III. tation. She had deposited her money with her nurse to procure little necessaries for her support, which were faithfully conveyed to her at night by the nurse or her daughter, by one of whom she was constantly attended in the night-time.

The next day after her flight, the czar called at her father's to see her, and finding the parents in anxious concern for their daughter, and himself disappointed, fancied it a plan of their own concerting. He became angry, and began to threaten them with the effects of his displeasure, if she was not produced: nothing was left to the parents but the most solemn protestations with tears of real sorrow running down their cheeks, to convince him of their innocence and ignorance what was become of her, assuring him of their fears that some fatal disaster must have befallen her, as nothing belonging to her was missing, except what she had on, at the time. The czar, satisfied of their sincerity, ordered great search to be made for her, with the offer of a considerable reward to the person who should discover what was become of her, but to no purpose: the parents and relations, apprehending she was no more, went into mourning for her.

Above a year after this she was discovered by an accident. A colonel who had come from the army to see his friends, going a hunting into that wood, and following his game through the morass, he came to the hut, and looking into it saw a pretty young woman in a mean dress. After enquiring of her who she was, and how she came to live in so solitary a place, he found out at last that she was the lady whose disappearance had made so great a

1713.

noise: in the utmost confusion, and with the most fervent BOOK III.
intreaties, she prayed him on her knees that he would not
betray her; to which he replied, that he thought her dan-
ger was now past, as the czar was then otherways engaged,
and that she might with safety discover herself, at least to
her parents, with whom he would consult how matters should
be managed. The lady agreed to his proposal, and he sat out
immediately and overjoyed her parents with the happy dis-
covery: the issue of their deliberations was to consult Ma-
dam Catherine (as she was then called) in what manner
the affair should be opened to the czar. The colonel went
also upon this business, and was advised by madam to come
next morning, and she would introduce him to his majesty,
when he might make the discovery and claim the promised
reward. He went according to appointment, and being in-
troduced, told the accident by which he had discovered the
lady, and represented the miserable situation in which he
found her, and what she must have suffered by being so
long shut up in such a dismal place, from the delicacy of her
sex. The czar shewed a great deal of concern that he
should have been the cause of all her sufferings, declaring,
that he would endeavour to make her amends. Here Madam
Catherine suggested, that she thought the best amends his
majesty could make was to give her a handsome fortune
and the colonel for a husband, who had the best right,
having caught her in pursuit of his game. The czar, agree-
ing perfectly with Madam Catherine's sentiments, ordered
one of his favourites to go with the colonel, and bring the
young lady home; where she arrived, to the inexpressible
joy of her family and relations, who had all been in mourn-
ing

BOOK III. ing for her. The marriage was under the direction, and
at the expence of the czar, who himself gave the bride to
^{1713.} the bridegroom ; saying, that he presented him with one
of the most virtuous of women ; and accompanied his de-
claration with very valuable presents, besides settling on
her and her heirs, three thousand rubles a year. This
lady lived highly esteemed by the czar, and every one who
knew her. Besides the concurring reports of other people,
I had this her story from her own mouth.

Muscovite
robberies and
murders.

Murders are so frequent in Moscow, that few nights
pass without some people being found dead in the streets
in the morning. The robbers go in strong parties, and kill
before they rob : this they do with so little fear, that they
often perform it before the persons own door ; and the ter-
ror of these ruffians is so great, that none of the neighbours
dare assist the unhappy victim for fear of being butchered
themselves, or at least having their houses burnt. This ob-
liges people who have occasion to be in the streets in the
night, to go in companies together, or have a sufficient
guard of servants on horseback to attend them. The weapon
used by those villains is called *a dubien*, which is a long
stick with a round knob at one end, and made heavy with
iron, with which they knock a man down dead at one
stroke ; and if any of them happens to be taken, a good
sum of money from the gang they belong to, gets them
off : it is even affirmed, that gangs of them were protected
by some of the nobility, who partake of the booty ; which
assertion I believe not ill grounded.

The highways are also much infested by those *Rasbenicks*,
as they are called, which makes it very dangerous travelling
in

in any part of Russia ; for they have their spies in the ^{BOOK III} towns, who inform them when any body is to set out on ¹⁷¹⁵ a journey, how they are to be attended, and according to this information, they prepare themselves for an attack, and way-lay them in some wood through which they are to pass.

A gentleman of the name of Knipercron, whose father had been resident from Sweden before the war, told me, ^{The czar's danger by them.} how the czar himself had been attacked in his younger days : his majesty frequented their house very often, and always shewed a great regard for their family. One evening the czar intending them a visit, being only attended by two servants, the one riding before and the other standing behind the sledge, up comes a sledge with eight Rassbonicks in it, and were just going to fasten his sledge to theirs with a grapping-iron, which they commonly make use of on these occasions ; but the czar being then young, stout, and vigorous, got up, and seized one of the robbers by the hair of his head, and pulled him out of their sledge ; and, keeping his hold, drove out of their reach, dragging the fellow along with him till he reached the resident's house, which was not far, and entered to their great surprize all in a sweat, still holding the fellow by the hair. He ordered the gates to be immediately shut, that none of the servants might go out till he had examined the robber. When the fellow understood that it was the czar they had attacked, he shook and trembled, saying if they had known who he was they would not have meddled with him, and then begged he might be put to death, without being put to the torture. To this his majesty consented, on condition he discovered the rest of his gang ; but this the fellow would not do, without a promise of his life and a reward, which was also granted him,

BOOK III.^{1713.} him, and he went with a detachment of soldiers to the rendezvous of his companions, and coming to the house he called to them to open the door. On hearing his voice, they directly opened it, and in rushed the soldiers, and seized not only his seven accomplices, but thirteen others of the same gang, who were soon after all executed, except the informer.

At another time the czar was attacked on his way from Moscow to Novogorod, when he was attended by four servants only. Going from Twer, he was stopt by a strong party of Rasbonicks, on which he immediately jumped out of his sledge, with a sword drawn in one hand, and a cocked pistol in the other, and told them he was the czar, asking them what they wanted? They replied, they were poor fellows reduced to great want, and as he was their lord and master, he was the properest person to relieve them: he told them he had no money about him; to which they answered, if he had, they would take none from him, but desired that he would give them a written order to the governor of Novogorod for what sum he pleased to bestow upon them, begging that it might be such as would relieve them from their straits. The czar then asked them, if one thousand rubles would be sufficient; and on their saying it would, he wrote an order for that sum payable at sight, and for which they directly dispatched one of their number, who very soon returned with the money: they then obliged the czar to return to Twer, and to pledge his royal word not to prosecute, or ever enquire after them, promising to amend their lives and become good subjects for the future. Instead of proceeding to Novogorod, the czar returned back to Moscow.

I cannot

I cannot omit mentioning what happened in my own BOOK III. time to two of the Swedish officers who had been made prisoners at the battle of Pultowa. They were missing : great search was made and much enquiry, but nothing could be heard of them, from which it was concluded they had been murdered : some little time after four others disappeared, but were not missed, till one of them, a captain Horn, returned shot through the shoulder with a pistol-ball ; who privately addressed himself to a lieutenant of our artillery, who had been his former acquaintance in the Swedish service, to whom he told the misfortune that had happened to him and his comrades. The lieutenant immediately informed major-general Gunter, of the artillery, what had happened to the Swedish officers, and that the villains informed against were then at a house in that part of the town where the artillery men were quartered ; the general directly ordered them to be secured, being four in number. The story in short was this :—A Jew who had embraced the Christian religion, of the Greek church, and who was an engraver by trade, counterfeited passports under the chancellor's seal, and agreed with the two first for a sum of money to carry them into Poland, from whence they might safely pass into their own country. In the passport they were described as two officers going to the army, and each of them with one servant ; they arrived at the borders of Poland without the least interruption or suspicion, and having passed by Smolensko, the Jew desired them to write to their companions in Moscow, and inform them with how much safety they had made their escape ; which they did, recommending the Jew as the fittest person

1713.
Remarkable
murder of
Swedish offi-
cers by Jews.

BOOK III. soon they could employ, if any of them intended to get away as they had done. After he had got these letters of recommendation, the Jew offered to conduct them a day's journey farther, which they accepted of, and the officers riding together through a wood, congratulating each other on their happy escape, the Jew and his companion riding behind them as servants, took out each a pistol, and aimed so well, that they shot both the officers dead, and having plundered them, returned to Moscow, where they entrapped captain Horn, and three others, into the same snare, by shewing the letters from those who had already made their escape, and setting out with a passport for four officers, and as many servants : they also arrived on the frontiers of Poland, and riding late at night, the servants fired, and each killed his master, except captain Horn, who being shot through the shoulder, fell from his horse, and they thinking him to be dead as well as the rest, went in pursuit of the horses which had taken fright at the report of the pistols, and ran away : in the mean time, captain Horn recovering himself, made the best of his way into the wood, where he concealed himself ; the villains returning, missed, and searched for him, but it being then dark they could not find him, and having plundered the other three, they returned for Moscow, giving themselves little concern about captain Horn, as they concluded he durst not return there to inform against them. The captain, however, to prevent those villains from doing more mischief, and to get them punished, determined to return ; and discovering himself to a nobleman's steward near Smolensko, who happening at that time to be sending some carriages with provisions to his master at Moscow, the captain

tain took the opportunity and went with them, and on his ^{BOOK III.} arrival made the discovery as has been related. The four villains being secured, were examined, and confessed what I ^{1713.} have mentioned, but pretended they had done a meritorious action, by destroying his majesty's enemies, who were endeavouring to make their escape from prison. Horn's preservation was a happy circumstance, for they might have done much mischief if they had not been detected, as they had now also recommendations from the four last unfortunate gentlemen. The villains were tried, condemned, and all broke alive on the wheel.

The czar being informed of these frequent murders and <sup>Suppression
of the rob-</sup> robberies, whereby he was continually losing many of his ^{bers.} most useful subjects, sent the most express and positive orders to Knez Romadanofski, whom he had appointed vice-czar in his absence, to put an effectual stop to these disorders at his peril. The vice-czar immediately issued his orders to all house-keepers and publicans to give in the names of those who belonged to their families, and to be answerable for every one who lodged under their roof, and on pain of death, to secure all those who could not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and discover all suspected persons. The end of every street was barricadoed, and had a guard, and none were suffered to appear in the streets at night without a pass from the vice-czar: parties of dragoons were stationed on all the public roads, and the people in the country were made answerable and liable for those who lodged under their roofs in the same manner as the inhabitants in the cities. Great numbers were taken, who were executed in a very extraordinary manner, being hung up by one of

BOOK III. their ribs on an iron hook, in which torment they lived
— eight or nine days : I saw them hung up by dozens in one
^{1713.} day. These executions had so much the desired effect, that
one might travel through Russia, by day or night, with as
much safety as in any part of the world.

^{1714.} On the first of January, 1714, general Bruce arrived in
^{Seat of empire changed from Moscow to Petersburg.} Moscow, to remove and conduct his family to Petersburgh, when a thousand of the best and most substantial families in Moscow had received orders to prepare for the same purpose, in order to people that new city, proposed for the seat of empire. The empress, dowager of czar Feodor, (sister to admiral Apraxin), with her court ; the empress, dowager of czar John, with her three daughters ; namely, the princess Anne, dowager of Courland (afterwards empress of Russia) ; the princess Catherine, afterwards duchess of Mecklenburg ; and the princess Proscovia, (who died unmarried) ; the princess Natalia, the czar's only sister by the mother, and his two daughters the princesses Anne and Elizabeth ; with all the families of rank and quality, set out this spring for Petersburgh, with all the foreign merchants, as no more merchandize was to be allowed to come to Moscow by the way of Archangel ; so that this metropolis, once the pleasantest and most agreeable city in all Russia, became quite deserted, none remaining in it but the vulgar ; which was a great mortification to all ranks of people, being obliged to leave a place of such plenty for one where every thing was both scarce and dear.

^{Description of the czarowitz's person and manners.} The czarowitz arrived in Moscow this winter, where I saw him for the first time. He kept a mean Finlandish girl for his mistress. I went often with the general to wait on him, and he came frequently to the general's house, commonly

attended by very mean and low persons. He was very book III.
flovenly in his dress ; his person was tall, well made, of a —————
brown complexion, black hair and eyes, of a stern counte-
nance, and strong voice. He frequently did me the honour
to talk with me in German, being fully master of that lan-
guage : he was adored by the populace, but little respected
by the superior ranks, for whom he never shewed the least
regard ; he was always surrounded by a number of debauch-
ed ignorant priests, and other mean persons of bad charac-
ter, in whose company he always reflected on his father's
conduct for abolishing the ancient customs of the country,
declaring, that as soon as he came to succeed, he should
soon restore Russia to its former state ; and threatening to
destroy, without reserve, all his father's favourites. This
he did so often, and with so little reserve, that it could not
miss reaching the emperor's ears ; and it was generally
thought he now laid the foundation of that ruin he after-
wards met with. The czarowitz remained in Moscow till
the emperor arrived at Petersburgh ; who finding that his
son had left his confort in a melancholy situation, he ordered
the prince without delay to return to his family.

The Russians may not marry any one that is related to them within the fourth generation ; those of an equal degree of consanguinity call each other brother and sister, with the distinction of first, second, and so on, to the fourth degree ; and those of a higher or lower degree, are called uncles, nephews, &c. with the same distinction. At their christenings they commonly have three or four godfathers, with an equal number of godmothers, who, after that ceremony, reckon themselves so nearly related that they can no more marry

Russian re-
strictions of
consanguini-
ty in mar-
riage.

BOOK III. marry each other than if they were children of the same parents.

^{1714.} Ridiculous custom in burying. They have a very ridiculous custom at their funerals. Just before the coffin is shut up, the father-confessor of the deceased, puts a testimonial, or pass, for the other world, in writing, between the fingers of the corpse, in these words :

" —We N. N. do certify by these presents, that the bearer hereof hath always behaved himself and lived among us as became a good Christian, professing the Greek religion ; and although he may have committed some sins, he hath confessed the same, whereupon he hath received absolution, and taken the communion for the remission of his sins. That he hath honoured God and his saints ; that he hath not neglected his prayers, and hath fasted on the hours and days appointed by the church ; that he hath always behaved himself towards me, who am his confessor, in such a manner that I have no reason to complain of him, or to deny him the absolution of his sins. In witness whereof we have given him these testimonials, to the end that St. Peter, upon sight of them, may not deny him the opening of the gate to eternal bliss."

Their images. Respecting their images, they suffer none that are carved or graven, either in their churches or houses, but such only as are painted on wood, in oil colours, by those of their own religion. They never will own to have bought their saints, but go to the god-market, and, having chosen a figure they like, deposit the money for the exchange of it ; if the saint-maker thinks it not sufficient, he shoves it back, and the other party is obliged to add more to it, till he

he is satisfied. The walls of their churches are every where full of them : over the porch of their churches, in the market-place, and over the gates of their cities, you are sure to meet with the picture of some saint or other ; so that go which way you will, you see numbers of people crossing themselves with a most profound inclination of the head, repeating the *Gospodi Pomilui*, or, God have mercy upon me. These images they consider so absolutely necessary, that without them they could not perform their devotion : they are the chief ornament of their houses, and whoever enters, first pays his respects to the saint, and then to those of the family. A Russian once coming to me with a message, looked round about the room for an image, and seeing none, asked me, Where is thy God ?— I answered, in heaven : upon which he immediately went away without delivering his message. I told the general this circumstance, and he directly ordered a saint's picture to be hung up in my room, to prevent giving any farther offence of that kind.

All Russians, of what degree or condition soever, sleep Their baths. after dinner ; so that about noon, the shops are shut up, and there is no more speaking with any body than if it was at midnight. They bathe frequently : people of quality have their own private ones, and bathe twice a week at least ; but the public bathing-places are all built near the sides of the rivers. Their stoves are close places with furnaces, which they heat exceedingly, and for the better raising of vapour, frequently throw cold water on the stove : there are benches all round, at some distance one above another, differing in the degrees of heat, so that every one choooses

BOOK III. chooses the temperature that best suits him: upon one of those benches they lay themselves down at full length, quite naked, and having sweated as long as they think proper, ^{1714.} they are well washed with warm water, and well rubbed with handfuls of herbs; after which they take a dram of aqua vitæ, and go their ways. But what is most admirable is, when they find the heat too intense, both men and women will run out of the stove, naked as they are, plunge into the river, and swim about for some time; if it is in the winter, they will roll in the snow. These public baths are so carelessly built, that it is an easy matter to see the people in the next room through the aperture of the boards which divide them, which, to the women who frequent them, is of no great consequence, as they are not nicely delicate in being seen naked; both sexes going out and coming in at the same door naked, when they want to cool themselves. These baths are the universal remedies of the Muscovites, whether for cleanliness or health; and thus accustomed from their infancy to the extremes of heat and cold, they become both stout and hardy, and in general long-lived, little subject to any distemper: thus they live for the most part without physicians, and many of them without diseases. They begin their day at sun-rising, and end at sun-setting, so that their night begins as soon as the sun is down, and ends when it rises.

Manner of travelling.

The manner of travelling in Russia is extremely commodious, especially in winter, when their sledges glide away on the surface of the ice or snow, in a flat country, with incredible dispatch, and so very little labour to the horses, that they can easily perform fifty or sixty miles a day. Their sledges

Hedges are made of the bark of the linden-tree, fitted to the book m.
size of a man, lined with some thick felt, and when a man
is laid along in them, he is wrapped up and quite covered
in good furs. The driver for the most part runs by the
sledge to keep himself warm, or sits at the feet of the per-
son who travels; the sledges being built very low, should
they happen to overturn, there is little danger in the fall.
In this mode of travelling, the time is mostly spent in sleep-
ing, the easy, almost imperceptible, motion favouring their
repose. When they happen to pass through deserts, or
great forests, where they are obliged to remain all night in
the open air, they kindle a great fire, round which they
range their sledges, so that being well closed on all sides,
and well covered up with their furs, they rest more com-
modiously than in a country cottage, where men and beasts
being lodged together in one room, greatly disturb a man's
rest. The greatest inconvenience in travelling those parts is
the want of inns on the road, which obliges the travellers
to carry provisions along with them, and other necessaries
they may stand in need of; but those who travel singly
commonly go post, when they pay the whole expence of
the journey at setting out, and have no more occasion to
put their hand in their pocket till they come to the end
of it, which is very convenient. The post-boy receives a
written order, which he delivers to the next who succeeds
him, and so on to the end; and they go day and night,
having fresh horses every ten miles, so that the traveller
may sleep all the way in his sledge, if he chooses. They
commonly travel an hundred and fifty miles in twenty-

BOOK III. four hours. I have often travelled three stages without
waking.

1714.

In the summer they travel either by water, on the rivers, with which this country abounds; or by land on horseback, by coach, or sleeping-waggon; the roads in Russia being very broad, beautiful, and easy for travelling. For passing the rivers they have a kind of floating-bridges made of large fir-trees, fastened together, which can support a great weight. But the violent heat of the summer, and the prodigious quantities of muskitoes and flies, are very troublesome, and greatly interrupt the pleasure a stranger would otherwise have in passing through this country from the beauty and variety of its forests, rivers, and lakes.

No religion in the world could well be conceived to impose a more severe mortification on its professors than the Russian; for, if it were not sufficient to have enjoined the keeping of two constant fast days in the week, as Wednesday and Friday, and the eves before holidays, when they are obliged to abstain so strictly from all kind of flesh, that they must not taste butter, eggs, or milk, they have four Lents every year; the longest of them is seven weeks, the first of which is called *Butter Week*, and that being their carnival, they have liberty for all manner of food except fish. In this week their extravagancies exceed almost all belief; and as if this time was allotted for the purpose of preparing to fast the other six, they employ it in the most extravagant excess in drinking brandy and melted butter, which they pour down their throats in such amazing quantities, that one would imagine the least spark of fire would

set

set their bodies in a flame ; nay, they are very often obliged to quench this inflammation with milk to prevent their dying on the spot, which frequently happens. Woe to the stranger that meets these drunkards at night, unless he is well guarded, their insolencies being so great that a number of persons are murdered every night ; not to reckon those who being overcharged with liquor, and wanting attendants to carry them home, fall down upon the snow and so are frozen to death. During this week, it is very common in a morning, although a shocking sight, to see ten or a dozen dead bodies carried upright in a sledge, frozen to death ; yet these are the daily objects one meets in a morning, in the streets of Moscow. All the atonement they make for these enormities, when the week is over, is by frequenting the baths, to wash away the impurities contracted in their excessive debauches : they live temperately during the rest of the Lent, and some of the more rigid will not even taste fish all that time, but live upon honey, herbs, and pulse, and drink only quas, or water.

They celebrate the feast of Easter with great ceremony and rejoicing ; as well in remembrance of the resurrection of our Saviour, as that it puts an end to the mortification they endured during Lent. They now rejoice fifteen days, feasting together on all manner of good cheer ; and to make a full amends for their sufferings in Lent, the public houses are now continually crowded by all sorts of people, women as well as men, ecclesiastics and laics ; and the streets almost not to be passed for the multitudes of drunkards at night. For these fifteen days they have eggs ready dyed all manner of colours, which they send or give in presents

BOOK III. to each other ; and when they meet in this time, they salute with these words, *Christos wos Chrest* ;—that is, Christ is risen :—to which the other having answered, *Woiflin wos Chrest*,—that is, He is certainly risen,—they kiss one another ; he that salutes first is obliged to present the other with an egg ; nobody, of whatever condition or sex, daring to refuse the egg or kiss : the people of quality have them covered with gold or silver leaf, or very curiously painted both outside and in.

Most of their religious festivals are solemnised with processions, among which that of Palm Sunday, representing our Saviour's public entry into Jerusalem, is performed with great solemnity. Before the patriarchal dignity was laid aside, the patriarch used to ride in the procession, mounted on an ass, the czar leading him by the bridle, from the castle to the church called Jerusalem, without the castle-gate ; and the patriarch, in acknowledgment of the honour conferred on him by his majesty in leading his ass, presented him with a purse of one hundred rubles.

B O O K IV.

*City of Novogorod.—The Sterlit fish.—Marshal Zeremetof's military mistakes.—The readiest method to get out of the Russian service.—The city of Peterburgh.—The czar's usual table.—His entertainments.—His present of boats to different ranks, and its good design.—An ambassador from Ujbeck Tartary.—A naval excursion for his entertainment.—Cronstadt and Cronelet.—Oranianbaum, Petershoff, and Catharinhoff.—The grand dutchess born, and the prince's behaviour on the occasion. His disrespect to the czar.—Naval expedition, in which the czar was rear-admiral.—His gallant action with Ehrenshield.—He takes Aland.—His triumphal entry at Peterburg.—Promoted to be vice-admiral.—He compliments Ehrenshield's bravery.—His speech to the senate.—His resentment of the czarowitz's disrespect.—He institutes frequent social assemblies and a royal academy.—Court-martial on admiral Kruys.—The order of St. Catherine.—Confusions in the revenue, and the consequent distress.—Many delinquents punished.—Fiscals appointed.—The czar's public entertainments.—Mr. Slitter's *perpetuum mobile*.—The old Finlander.—Hard frost at Peterburgh.—Experiments on bears.—Method of killing them.*

ON the first day of March general Bruce set out from BOOK IV Moscow, with his family, on his way to Peterburgh; ————— we past by the town of Twer, over the river Wolga, and arrived at the city of Novogorod the 10th; it is situated in a very fair spacious plain upon the Wologda, a river different from the Wolga. The Wologda derives its source from the lake Ilmen, about three miles above this city, from whence it falls into lake Ladoga, and emerging from thence in the river Neva, near the fortress of Noteburgh, at last by the gulph of Finland, empties itself into the Baltic sea. This river is of great advantage to Novogorod, not only by the plenty of all sorts of most excellent fish with

1714.
City of No-
vogorod.

BOOK IV. with which it stores their market, at a very moderate price, but by being navigable to its very source. The surrounding country is very fertile, abounding in wheat, flax, hemp, honey, and wax. Russia leather is one of its principal commodities, being supposed to be dressed here to greater perfection than in any other part of Muscovy; Novogorod is reputed one of the chief cities in the empire for trade. In former ages, this city was deemed one of the most potent in Europe, and was so famous that it became proverbial in those parts, *Who can oppose God and the great city of Novogorod.* But the czar Ivan Wasilowitz, the great tyrant of Moscow, having plundered it, laid most part of the city in ashes, and removed all the considerable citizens to Nisni, or Lower, Novogorod. The great extent of the ruins of the ancient walls, and the number of steeples still remaining, are sufficient evidence of its former glory, and that its present condition bears no proportion to what it was before its destruction, being now only surrounded by a wooden wall, and the houses built of the same materials. A castle stands on the other side of the river, opposite to the city, and joined to it by a bridge; this castle is surrounded by a strong stone wall, and is the residence both of the governor and metropolitan. In this city, and opposite the castle, is a monastery dedicated to St. Anthony, of whom they relate most surprising miracles: amongst the rest, they shew a great mill-stone lying against the wall of the convent, upon which they say St. Anthony performed his voyage from Rome to this place; that he came down the Tiber into the Mediterranean, through the straits, over all the seas in his way to the Baltick, on this stone, and

going up the Wologda, at last fixed his residence at Novo-^{BOOK IV.} gorod ; after he came ashore, he agreed with some fisher-
men for the first draught of their net, which proved to be
a large chest containing the saint's canonical robes, his books,
and money ; with the money he built this monastery, where-
he ended his days, and his body still remains uncorrupted.
Upon my asking the monk, who gave me this information,
in what ship the saint arrived upon this mill-stone, and
how they got up the falls in the lake of Lagoda, he fell
into a passion, and told me I was an unbeliever and no-
Christian, and so went away without shewing me the un-
corrupted body of his saint.

There are at present in this city one hundred and forty-
four religious houses, besides a great number of churches
and chapels. Pittsburgh is supplied from hence with all
sorts of provisions and necessaries, conveyed in flat-bottomed
vessels, many of which are lost in the falls, or rapids, of the
lake Ladoga, by striking on the rocks, which lie hid under
water, with such violence, from the rapidity of the stream,
that they are beat to pieces. The czar, to prevent such re-
quent losses, ordered a canal to be cut in a strait line from
the river Wologda to the river Neva, and 30,000 men are
employed every summer at this work, and an equal number
of soldiers and peasants. This canal is near one hundred
miles in length, and eighty feet broad ; the banks on each
side, raised by the earth dug out of the canal, are sixty feet
broad, and make a road on both sides ; the country is plain
and level all the way with a small northern declination, but
full of woods and marshes. When this work is comple-
ted, it will be of unspeakable advantage to the country, as
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BOOK IV.

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the communication of Novogorod with Petersburgh will be both short and safe; it will also be a great convenience for those who travel that way by land in the summer, as they are now obliged to go a great way about to shun these fens and marshes. The czar also intends, when this is finished, to make a communication between the Wolga and the Wologda, which, in fact, will be a navigable conveyance from the Caspian sea to the Baltic, and consequently to any port in Europe.

The sterlit-fish.

Some time ago, some vessels going for Petersburgh, with live fish, called sterlit, in passing the falls of Ladoga, were beat to pieces, by which accident the fish regained their liberty, and some of them were afterwards taken at Cronslot, and one catched at Stockholm, which were considered very great curiosities, as none of them had ever been seen in those seas before. They are about eighteen inches long, of a shape peculiar to themselves; their head like that of a pike, but longer, and instead of scales, they have a sort of shells on their back, not unlike the turtle-shell, but have no bones at all in them; and when dressed they are the most delicious fish in the world, being very fat and pleasant to the taste; their common price at Petersburgh is a ducat a-piece. Brigadier le Fort, who was then a prisoner at Stockholm, and seeing this fish in the market, bought it, and invited prince Dolgorouky and general Weyde, also prisoners, to dine with him, and when the fish came on the table, they were both much surprised, knowing it was a native only of the Caspian, or the Wolga. I never heard if they propagated their species in these seas.

General

General Bruce being governor of this province, it detained BOOK IV. him a few days to inspect the affairs relating to his government ; and while he staid, was entertained by the principal people of the city : one day, dining with the deputy-governor, the discourse turned upon some mistakes made by field-marshall Zeremetof, when the czar first began to new model his army after the German discipline. For the encouragement of foreign officers to come into the army, he had given orders to the marshal that, if they came well recommended, they should be promoted one step above the rank they held in the service they had left ; at that time there happened to come a brigadier from the Austrian service, well recommended by the emperor, and desired his preferment as a major-general, agreeable to the czar's instructions ; the marshal conceiving that to be a step too much, told the gentleman he ought to be satisfied with being first made a lieutenant-general ; and the officer submitting to gratify the marshal, his commission was sent to the czar to be confirmed, and the marshal claimed a merit in having satisfied the foreigner so easily : the czar was much diverted with the marshal's mistake, yet he confirmed the commission, but cautioned the marshal not to make such mistakes in future. Notwithstanding this caution, a little time produced another mistake ; a German captain *des armes*, which is below the post of a serjeant, and whose business it is to take care of the arms belonging to the company, solicited to be employed in the army ; the marshal, by his German interpreter, asked what post he last served in, and was answered, Captain *des armes* ; the word *arm*, in the German language, signifying *poor* ;

BOOK IV. the interpreter reported, that he had been *a poor captain*; if that be the case, said the marshal, I'll make him a rich captain; and made out a captain's commission for him; but the czar, instead of confirming it, made him only ensign, which made the poor captain very happy.

The readiest
method to get
out of the
Russian ser-
vice.

In those times it was much easier getting into the service than out of it, as was evident in the case of major-general Gordon, who wanted very much to quit the service, and solicited his discharge by every application in his power, but all in vain; and being in Poland on a separate command, after the battle of Pultowa, he took that opportunity to send to Moscow for his wife and daughters, and on their arrival in Poland, he carried them to Dantzig, where he took shipping and sailed for Scotland. A similar case happened, in my time, to a colonel of dragoons, who, after a long servitude, solicited, and obtained his discharge from the service with little difficulty, but found it out of his power to obtain a pass to get out of the country, being always put off from time to time with fair promises, with which they amused him so long, that he was at length obliged to draw bills on his friends in Germany for money to subsist on. The Russian policy is, that money saved by the government's servants, should remain in the country, and having observed this officer, while in Poland with his regiment, making considerable remittances to his friends in Germany, took care when they had granted his discharge to detain his person, with a view to bring some of the money back again. The colonel finding he was like to ruin himself, without hopes of getting out of the country, applied to some of the foreign generals for their council, who advised him immediately

dately to petition to be employed again in the service; which ^{BOOK IV.} he did, and soon found himself once more at the head of a regiment of dragoons; the regiment being ordered into Poland, he there made the best use of his time till he thought himself sufficiently reimbursed, then went into Germany, from whence he wrote to prince Menzikoff, excusing himself for leaving the service in such a manner, but he had no alternative, for he was not permitted to do it in a more honourable way; advising the prince not to detain foreigners in the service against their will, for such measures would only prevent men of abilities and merit from entering at all into their service. But all this did not mend the matter; and it would be too tedious to enter into a detail of the difficulties strangers have to encounter in endeavouring to get out of this country. We sat out from Novogorod the 25th, and arrived at Petersburg the 1st of April. The distance from Moscow to Peterburgh is 54¹ English miles, or 812 Russian wersts.

The nobility, and people of fashion and fortune, who ^{The city of} had removed with their families from Moscow, found here a sad reverse in their situation. Instead of their spacious palaces and lofty houses in that city, and their country houses and villas in its vicinity, where they had every thing in plenty, they found provisions very scarce and most conveniences wanting. As this place was agreeable both to the designs and humour of the czar, he paid little regard to the complaints of those who considered their own ease and luxury more than the advantage of their country. The merchant and shopkeepers found their account in this new city, where every thing bore an excessive price.

BOOK IV. This city was now in its infancy, it being yet but barely
ten years since its first foundation was laid. When the czar had
^{1714.} made himself master of Noteburgh and New Schantz, he
went down to the mouth of the river Neva, where it falls into
the Baltic by several streams forming so many islands ; the
situation pleased him so much, that he resolved upon build-
ing this city. He found only four fishermen's huts, to which
he added a house for himself on an island in the north side
of the river, and called it Petersburgh. This house was
only a shelter from the weather and to rest in ; it is a low
hall built of wood, inclosed with a wooden gallery, and
the year 1704, in figures, carved over the door ; but in me-
mory of this great undertaking, it has been preserved ever
since. Lieutenant-general Robert Bruce, commandant of
the city, has the charge and use of this original hall, and
has built a very good house adjoining to it for himself, which
was one of the first that made a show in this place. The first
thing that was undertaken was the building two forts ; one
here, and another at Cronslot, to protect the place from in-
sult from the Swedes by sea ; it being naturally guarded
against any attempt on the land-side, as the country round
it is almost one general morass.

Every body now beheld with surprize and admiration
such advances toward a city, in so short a time, as many
thousand houses were already built. In that part called Pe-
tersburgh, stands a large square brick building, with a spa-
cious court within, for merchants and tradesmen, where
they have their shops below and store-rooms above, and are
shut up every night, being under the same regulations with
the grand market-place at Moscow ; and the merchants all
reside

reside in this part of the town. Here is also a large long book iv.
brick building, which contains the senate-house, all the supreme courts of the kingdom, chancery-court, court of justice, the boards of admiralty and ordnance, the war-office, &c. &c. The president of every court, or board, is a senator. The seat of trade, the courts of justice, all the publick offices, and the grand council of the empire, being combined in such a small space, makes it extremely convenient for the dispatch of business. On another island, to the north of this, are the habitations of Asiatic merchants, viz. Armenians, Persians, Turks, Tartars, Chinese, and Indians; but no Jew is now allowed to trade, or indeed, live in the Russian empire. Opposite to the senate-house, on a small island, stands the fort by itself, and being in the center, commands the whole city; the fort is a hexagon, strengthened by ravelines; the ramparts are all casemated, bomb-proof: it contains houses and barracks for the officers and soldiers belonging to the garrison, a large arsenal, store-houses, and magazines; a fine large church, with a very high steeple, furnished with a set of musical bells, which play every day from eleven to twelve at noon; in this church is a large vault intended for the sepulchre of the imperial family; the works, and all the interior buildings are of brick, and the only communication with the fort is by draw-bridges, opposite the senate-house. Below the fort, on the same side of the river, is Wasilio Ostrof (or Island), where prince Menzikoff has built a very grand palace, and a number of fine brick houses for the accommodation of those belonging to his court: this island is large, and well laid out in gardens and parks, and here the grandeur of the

Imperial

BOOK IV. Imperial court is displayed, and all foreign ambassadors and ministers have their audiences ; on which occasion, the czar appears always as a private gentleman ; as indeed, he does every where, attended only by one page and one foot-man who carries his mathematical instruments and draughts, for he is an excellent draughtsman, and understands all the branches of the mathematics, and is well versed in fortification, architecture, ship-building, and the construction of all kinds of engines. As he is a prince that has a knowledge of every thing, he is not easily imposed on by others. Opposite Wasilio-Ostrof on the south-side of the river, is the admiralty and dock-yard for building ships and gallies. This island being formerly low and marshy, was intersected by several canals, and the ground raised and made commodious for the purpose it is applied to ; it is inclosed by the river, and like the rest of the place, has its natural defence from the morassy confines of the river. The people employed in ship-building are all quartered here, as also the officers and sailors belonging to the fleet.

Above the admiralty, stands the Inoisemskia Slaboda, or Foreign Town, where all European foreigners live, and have several Protestant and one Roman Catholic, meeting-houses : here stands admiral Apraxin's fine palace. This island was also low and marshy, but was drained and raised by digging several canals through it. The czar has both his winter and summer-palace on this island ; the former is next the river, and the latter at the east, or upper-end of the island, where his yatchs and pleasure-boats are ranged close up before the door ; here are exceeding fine gardens

gardens and a large park, inclosed by a large and deep canal ; the gardens are full of water-works, Italian statues, covered walks and arbors. A fine avenue of large trees, which stand by the side of the river, were dug out of the ground in the winter, with large quantities of frozen earth sticking to their roots, and brought in that condition and planted here, and flourished to the surprize of all who saw them. In the park was built a house which contains all sorts of mathematical instruments ; also the famous globe of Gothorp, contrived by Tycho Brahe, in which twelve people can sit round a table and observe the celestial constellations as it turns on its axis. In the garden was a long gallery, or hall, where the czar attended every day from eleven to twelve o'clock at noon, when every body had free access, and he then received petitions from all ranks of his subjects ; after that hour none were permitted to address him except upon affairs of consequence. He dined commonly at twelve o'clock, and only with his own family ; one dish only was served up at a time, and to have it hot he dined in a room, contiguous to the kitchen, from whence the dish is received through a window from the cook ; at one o'clock he lays down and sleeps an hour ; he spent the afternoon and evening in some diversions or other till ten o'clock, when he went to bed, and got up again at four in the morning, summer and winter.

In the holidays, he invented all manner of diversions, and frequently entertained company in his long hall in the garden, which being surrounded by water, the guests come in their boats, which, as the company disembark, are all secured under a guard in the harbour, that no body may

The czar's
usual table.

BOOK IV. give him the slip before the company depart altogether,
 which seldom happened before next morning. Coaches, or

1714.

other wheel-carriages, are of little use in this city, where the whole is surrounded either with rivers or canals, which having no bridges, every body is obliged to go by water.

His present
of boats to
different
ranks, and
its good de-
sign.

To accommodate this inconveniency, the czar presented every one of the first quality with a yacht ; a buyer, which is a sailing-boat with a large cabin in the middle of her after the Dutch fashion ; a barge of ten or twelve oars, and a wherry of four or two : those of the second rank, a buyer and a wherry ; and to those of a lower degree, a wherry only ; obliging every one to keep their vessels in repair, and when worn out, to rebuild them at their own expence ; this was also a political present, for one day in the week was appointed for mustering those vessels, for sailing or rowing, as his majesty's fancy directed, and the proper signal was made by the fort. If they rowed it was on the broad river, in their smaller vessels, when they made a delightful appearance, and the pleasure much heightened by the bands of music : most of the first quality had bands of their own. If the signal was made for sailing to Cronstadt, then all the yachts and buyers went in three squadrons : in this expedition, they were taught all the different manœuvres of a fleet of men of war, by signals, as making or shortening sail, tacking, forming the line of battle, coming to an anchor, &c. &c. by which the young nobility and gentry became acquainted with the nature of the service, and many hands were taught the manual duties of seamen, and fitted for the navy. East from the summer palace, on a dry rising ground, stands the grand arsenal, and foundery

for

for cannon, mortars, &c. and a fine house built by the BOOK IV. master-general; and here also reside all the officers, &c. ————— 1714. of the ordnance; those also of the blood-royal live here on account of its fine situation and air, as it is not subject to inundations as the other parts; the czarowitz and his consort have their court here; the princess Natalia his majesty's sister, the two Imperial dowagers of the czar's Feodor and John, besides a number of noble families; and at the east end of this place stands the monastery of Alexander Newski, where an archbishop resides. The great stir there was at this time in all parts of the city is past description, nothing was to be seen or heard all day long but tradesmen and labourers at work in building ships and galleys, or houses either of brick or timber, digging canals and paving streets. The river was continually full of large vessels bringing all sorts of materials, as bricks, tiles, and stone for the streets. Large floats of timber came daily down the river for building ships and houses. Every body being employed in one shape or other, there was not an idle person to be seen.

On the 17th of May an ambassador arrived here from the An ambassa-
dor from Uf-
beck Tartary, cham of the Ufbeck Tartars, who had an audience of the czar the next day. His commission consisted of these three articles; first, that the cham rejoiced at his majesty's success in war, and the increase of his power, and recommended himself to his favour and protection; secondly, he desired the czar to enjoin his vassal, the cham of the Calmuck Tartars, to keep good neighbourhood and peace with him, for he seemed inclinable to join with the Tartars, subject to China, and to stir up others of his neighbours against

R

him:

BOOK IV. him : for which the chām of Usbeck offered in acknowledgement, to keep 50,000 soldiers always ready for the czar's service, to march at his command. Thirdly, as a farther testimony of the chām's friendship, he offered a passage through his dominions for the annual caravans to China, and to enter into a treaty of commerce with Russia, by which an incredible advantage was to accrue to his majesty, as the caravans were then obliged to make their journey to Peking with great inconvenience, and took a whole year to travel the whole extent of Siberia, where there was no beaten road, whereas they might go thither through his master's dominions on a good road in four months. The ambassador then laid many silks, and other Chinese and Persian goods, together with curious furs, at the czar's feet, as a present from his master ; telling him, that he had left some Persian horses and beasts behind him at Moscow, and expressed his concern that a fine leopard and an ape had died on the road.

A naval excursion for his entertainment.

On this occasion the signal was made for the yachts and boyars to attend his majesty to Cronslot ; I went with the master-general in his yacht, and arrived at Cronslot in the evening, where we slept on board at an anchor. The czar had desired the Tartarian ambassador to follow him next day with the great chancellor, count Golofkin, on board a snow, and they set off about noon with seven senators on board ; the weather was sultry, and they sailed with a gentle breeze, till being got about two leagues from Petersburgh, by the unskillfulness of the Russian captain they got among the flats, and the vessel got a-ground on a sand and stuck fast : the sailors wrought till seven in the evening before they got her off ; and about nine, so violent a storm arose

as

as had not been known in those parts for several years; about BOOK IV.
twelve all their boats were beat to pieces, their best anchor
gone, and with it all their hopes, looking for nothing but
death. The ambassador having never been on such a sea
before, turned pale, and at length wrapping himself up
in a silk quilt made his priest sit down on his knees before
him, and read something out of a book of the prophet Ali,
being of the Persian religion. Towards morning the storm
began to abate, the vessel was happily towed out of the
flats, and as soon as it came to an anchor, his majesty went
on board, and congratulated him on his safe arrival, con-
tinuing with him in the cabin above two hours. The am-
bassador ordered several kinds of fruit of his country to be
served up, and called for his musicians, vocal and instru-
mental, to entertain the emperor. The czar asked the am-
bassador several questions relating to his country, especially
concerning the river Darien, which runs through it, and
falls into the Caspian sea. There is a great deal of gold
found in the bed of this river, washed down from the moun-
tains, where there are rich gold mines. The czar brought
the ambassador on shore, and shewed him his fleet and har-
bours, at which he was not a little surprised, as it was the
first of the kind he had ever seen.

We were detained here three days, and I took the op- Cronstadt
portunity to survey the island of Retufary, which was new and Cronslot,
to me, and where the czar had begun to build a new town
called Cronstadt: the houses are all built of brick, and large;
the lower stories are calculated for shops and warehouses, for
the convenience of foreign merchants to trade or settle here,
as they did not approve the method observed in the grand

BOOK IV. market-places of Moscow and Petersburgh, in having their
shops in one part of the town, and living themselves in another;
^{1714.} here the streets are broad, and have a canal in the middle, that goods may be conveyed or removed, at the easy charge of water-carriage. There are two fine harbours, the one for the royal navy, and the other for merchant-men, the piers being all mounted with cannon. Within gun-shot of the harbour, and a mile from Ingria, stands the castle of Cronslot, founded on a sand-bank in the sea: the foundation was laid in winter upon the ice, with strong wooden cassoons filled with stone, upon which the super-structure was afterwards built of wood filled up with earth; this castle is round with three galleries about it, one above another, and well furnished with cannon, and thus the entrance up to Petersburgh is sufficiently guarded against every attempt of an enemy by sea: besides, there is no getting up against the strong currents without a favourable wind, and even then it requires a skilful pilot to bring them through the shoals and sand-banks, which yearly alter their situation.

A fleet of thirty ships of the line, besides frigates and yachts, now lay here ready for sea; and the troops which were encamped in the neighbourhood, were ready to embark on board eighty gallies, and one hundred scampavies, or half-gallies: the czar ordered the ships and gallies out to sea, where they formed the line, and gave a general salute with all their guns, which struck the Tartarian ambassador with surprize and amazement, having never seen the like before; this done, the ships came to an anchor again and the gallies on shore.

His

His majesty then went to Oranianbaum, a country-house BOOK IV. of prince Menzikof's, opposite to Cronslot, on the side of ————— Ingria, where a grand entertainment was prepared by the ^{1714.} Oranian- prince's directions; from thence he went to Petershoff, a Peter- ^{Oranian-} baum, Hoff, and Ca- country palace of his own, and thence to Catherinehoff, a therinehoff. palace of the czarina's, at both which the company were entertained with royal magnificence. The emperor now returned to Cronslot to go to sea with the fleet, and the empress, with the rest of the company, returned to Petersburgh. From Oranianbaum to Petersburgh the country rises gently from the shore, and abounds with the seats of the grandees, about half a mile distant from each other, which affords a beautiful prospect from the sea.

On the 29th of June, the governor of Wybourg, in Finland, took Nylot, the capital fortress of the province of Savolaxia, and made the garrison prisoners of war.

The Imperial princess, consort to the czarowitz, was brought to bed of a daughter on the 23d of July, who was baptized by the name of Natalia, and had the title of grand duchess given her. The czarowitz, at that time, on a pretended indisposition, had withdrawn himself to Carlsbad, with his Finlandish mistress, but merely to be out of the way at the delivery of his amiable, but unhappy wife: in this disagreeable situation, she had only the princess of East Friesland, a relation of her own, to comfort her. The czar, sensible of her distress, treated her with the highest esteem, allowed her a splendid court, and spared no cost to aggrandize it, and appointed frequent balls and assemblies at her house on purpose to divert her, and she had every mark of respect and regard shewn her by the czarina; indeed,

The grand
duchess born,
and the
prince's be-
haviour on
the occasion,

BOOK IV. ^{1714.} deed, she had greatly endeared herself to them both by the gentleness of her dispositions, and the sweetness of her temper and manner, but the brutal conduct of her husband embittered all. When the czarowitz returned from Carlsbad, which was in consequence of the emperor's express orders, he not only shewed the utmost disregard to the princess, but maltreated those of her court in such a manner, that they were all going to leave her, which ill usage threw her into a deep melancholy ; his father's frequent remonstrances on the subject seemed only to make bad worse, for he accused her of carrying complaints of him to the czar, and told her plainly, if it was not for the fear of his father's anger, he would turn her whole court out of doors, and oblige her to live after the old Russian custom. Although they lived in the same house, they were such strangers to each other, that they were never seen to eat or converse together, except when he came to upbraid her with her numerous household. This was not the only mortification this amiable princess underwent ; none of the grandes paid their court to her, except when ordered by his majesty, out of fear of disobliging the prince, so that the foreign ministers were the only persons that could venture to pay her any respect.

All this bad usage of so good a princess was the more surprising, when it is considered she was his own free choice : The czar had sent him to travel for his improvement, and recommended to him the choice of a princess abroad for his wife ; and seeing, in the course of his travels, the princess of Wolfenbuttel, sister to the empress of Germany, he made his addresses to her, and wrote to the czar for his consent, which

which was readily granted. His majesty arriving soon after BOOK IV.
at Torgau, concluded that unhappy marriage.

It was very remarkable, that the prince never appeared at any of the public meetings, when his majesty was attended by all persons of quality and rank, such as birth-days, celebrating of victories, launching of ships, &c. General Bruce, who lived next door to the prince, had orders always to give the prince notice the day before, of such public days or meetings, and I had the honour to carry and deliver the message; but his highness, to avoid appearing in public, either took physic, or let blood, always making his excuse, that he could not attend for want of health; when, at the same time, it was notoriously known that he got drunk in very bad company, when he used constantly to condemn all his father's actions.

Immediately on his majesty's return to Cronslot, he put out to sea with the fleet, on an information that the Swedish fleet, under admiral Watrang, had sailed with an intention to block him up in the harbour; and that their rear admiral, Ehrenshield, had seized on the port of Twerwin, in Finland, where he had sunk several of our ships, and taken about two hundred prisoners; by which acquisition, they hoped to be able to repulse any descent on the island of Aland. Our fleet was commanded by admiral Apraxin, vice-admiral Kruys, and, as rear-admiral, the czar himself; and sailed directly in quest of the enemy. The czar was sent to watch their motions; he soon reported their station, and that their vice-admiral, Lilie, was detached with several men of war and bomb-vessels, steering towards Revel; he desired the admiral to advance with the fleet, and on rejoining them,

Naval expeditio
n, in which the
czar was rear-admiral,

BOOK IV. it was determined to dispatch vice-admiral Kruys in quest of
 the Swedish vice-admiral, and to send twenty gallies under
 the command of general Weyde, and commodore Ismaie-
 witz, to pass within the enemy's fleet as near the shore as
 they could go. The gallies performed this service under favour
 of a calm ; the enemy endeavoured to prevent them, and
 fired many guns at them, but the draught of their large
 ships did not suffer them to come near enough to do any
 execution ; on which fifteen more gallies were sent under
 brigadier le Fort. The Swedish admiral hereupon made a
 signal for his vice-admiral to return, which he did, without
 a single effort made by admiral Kruys to intercept him,
 notwithstanding his superiority ; for this he was directly put
 under arrest, and afterwards tried by a court-martial at Pe-
 tersburg.

His gallant
action with
Ehrenshield.

The next day our fleet passed close by the enemy, and sustained all their fire, with the loss only of one galley, which had the misfortune to run aground, and they blocked up admiral Ehrenshield, who refusing to surrender to the czar's summons, by his adjutant-general Jaguzinski, was vigorously attacked at three in the afternoon by the czar's own division, now vice-admiral. The action was gallantly fought on both sides for two hours, when, notwithstanding their superiority in number of guns, the Swedes were boarded and taken, and Ehrenshield, having received seven wounds in the engagement, delivered himself up to our vice-admiral, by whom he was politely received, and by whose express orders he was most carefully attended in the cure of his wounds, none of which were mortal : the czar had ever afterwards a very great regard for him.

The

The Swedes lost in this engagement one frigate of twenty-four guns, six large gallies of fourteen guns each, and three demi-gallies of four each, all taken ; they lost also in this action nine hundred thirty-six soldiers and sailors, of whom five hundred seventy-seven were alive, and made prisoners of war. The loss on our part was, one colonel, two captains, four lieutenants, one adjutant, one hundred and three soldiers, and eighteen seamen, killed ; one brigadier, seven captains, seven lieutenants, one ensign, three hundred and nine soldiers, and sixteen seamen wounded ; amounting in the whole to one hundred and twenty-four killed, and three hundred and forty-one wounded. The Swedish vessels and prisoners were sent to Revel.

After the victory, the fleet sailed to the island of Aland, where the czar landed 16,000 men, and took the fort and other posts, intending to transport his troops, encamped at Abo, to this place, distant only twelve leagues from the coast of Sweden, with a design to make a descent at Stockholm ; which obliged the Swedes to recall their fleet, under Watrang, to guard their coasts : but it was now too late in the season to begin an enterprize of that importance ; so his majesty returned by Revel to Cronslot, where he stopped a few days, and from thence to Catherinehoff, the 18th of September, where he found the czarina delivered of another princess, to whom he gave the name of Anne.

On the 20th of September, part of our fleet, with the Swedish vessels and prisoners being arrived, the czar made a triumphal entry at Petersburgh, and approaching the admiralty and fort, he was saluted from one hundred and fifty guns. They came up the river in the following order :

BOOK IV.

^{1714.}

1. Three Russian gallies.
2. The three Swedish demi-gallies.
3. The six Swedish gallies.
4. The Swedish frigates, all with the Swedish colours hanging down.
5. The czar in his galley as rear-admiral.
6. All the rest of our gallies.

When the gallies came opposite the triumphal arch, which was erected in front of the senate-house and opposite the fort, they saluted with all their guns, which was returned with the like discharge from the cannon of the fort and admiralty ; then all the men came a-shore, and began a procession in the following order.

1. A company of the guards, with major-general Galitzin at their head.
2. The cannon that were taken last winter by prince Galitzin from major-general Arenfelt, near Wafa.
3. Sixty-three colours and standards taken in that action.
4. Two hundred Swedish subaltern officers, soldiers and seamens.
5. Two companies of the guards.
6. The Swedish sea-officers.
7. The flag of the Swedish rear-admiral.
8. The Swedish rear-admiral Ehrenshield.
9. The czar, as rear-admiral, followed by the remainder of the regiment of guards.

As soon as his majesty came under the triumphal arch, the grandees, senators, and foreign ministers, repaired thither to congratulate him on his victory , but the czarowitz neither appeared in person, nor by proxy. The governor of Moscow, in the name of the empire, complimented his majesty

majesty on his bravery, and thanked him for his great and eminent services. The triumphal arch was magnificently adorned with several emblematical representations; and amongst the rest, the Russian eagle seizing an elephant, alluding to the Swedish frigate called the Elephant, with this inscription, *Aquila non capit Muscas.*

The procession proceeded in the same order to the fort, where the vice-czar, Romadanoffsky, seated on a throne, and surrounded by the senate, caused rear-admiral Peter to be called before the assembly, and received from his hands a relation, in writing, of the victory obtained; which being read, they took it into consideration, and proposed several questions to the rear-admiral; after which, they unanimously declared him vice-admiral of Russia, in recompence of his faithful services done to his native country; which being proclaimed in the assembly, the whole house resounded with, "Health to the vice-admiral!" The czar having returned them thanks, went on board his floop, where he hoisted his vice-admiral's flag, having received many compliments on that occasion.

His majesty, attended by numbers of the nobility and officers, went to prince Menzikof's palace, where a grand entertainment was provided; after dinner, he shewed particular marks of his attention to rear-admiral Ehrenshield; and, addressing the company, he said—“Gentlemen, Here you see a brave and a faithful servant of his master, who has made himself worthy of the highest rewards at his hands, and who shall always have my favour while he is with me, although he has killed me many a brave man:” “I forgive you,” said he, turning to the Swede with a smile,

He complimented Ehrenshield's bravery.

BOOK IV. "and you may ever depend on my good-will."—Ehrenshield, having thanked the czar, answered,—“ However honourable I may have acted with regard to my master, I did but my duty; I sought death, but did not meet it; and it is no small comfort to me, in my misfortune, to be a prisoner of your majesty's, and to be used so favourably, and with so much distinction, by so great a sea-officer, and now worthily vice-admiral.” Mr. Ehrenshield affirmed, that the Russians had fought like lions, and that nothing but his own experience could have convinced him, that the czar had made so good soldiers of his subjects; such is the effect of strict discipline, time, and prudence. The troops were disciplined in such a manner, and were brought to such a degree of reputation, especially the infantry, that there were no troops in the world they would yield to.

The czar, on this occasion, addressed the following discourse to his senators:

His speech to the senate.

“ Brethren, who is the man among you, who, twenty years ago, could have conceived the idea of being employed with me in ship-building here on the Baltic, and to settle in those countries conquered by our fatigues and bravery? Of living to see so many brave and victorious soldiers and seamen sprung from Russian blood? And to see our sons coming home accomplished men from foreign countries? Historians place the ancient seat of all sciences in Greece; from whence being expelled by the fatality of the times, they spread into Italy, and afterwards dispersed themselves all over Europe; but by the perverseness of our ancestors, they were hindered from penetrating any farther than into Poland; the Poles, as well

“ the Germans, formerly groped in the same darkness in BOOK IV.
“ which we have hitherto lived, but the indefatigable care
“ of their governors at length opened their eyes, and they
“ made themselves masters of those arts, sciences, and so-
“ cial improvements, which formerly Greece boasted of. It
“ is now our turn, if you will seriously second my designs,
“ and add to your obedience voluntary knowledge. I can
“ compare this transmigration of the sciences to nothing
“ better than the circulation of the blood in the human
“ body; and my mind almost prognosticates that they will,
“ some time or other, quit their abode in Britain, France,
“ and Germany, and come and settle, for some centuries,
“ among us; and afterwards, perhaps, return to their ori-
“ ginal home in Greece. In the mean time, I earnestly re-
“ commend to your practice the Latin saying, *Ora et la-*
“ *bora* (pray and work); and in that case be persuaded you
“ may happen, even in your own life-times, to put other
“ civilized nations to the blush, and raise the glory of the
“ Russian name to the highest pitch.” The senators heard
this harangue of their monarch with a most respectful si-
lence; and answered, that they were all disposed to obey
his orders and follow his example. Whether they were sin-
cere in their declaration is another question.

The next day a grand entertainment was given at the vice-czar's, Romadamofky, where a battalion of the guards, and a company of grenadiers were ordered to attend. Having marched through the whole town, they were drawn up before the vice-czar's palace, and went through their exercise. The czarowitz being yet only a serjeant of grenadiers, marched all the way on the right, with his halbert on his shoulder,

His resent-
ment of the
czarowitz's
disrespect.

BOOK IV. and passing his own palace, the princess, his consort, looking out with her friend the princess of East Friesland, and
 —————
^{1714.} seeing him march in so *grand* a manner, fainted away and was carried to bed. When the exercise was over the officers were all invited to the entertainment, but the men remained under arms, and the czarowitz stood upon his post till the battalion marched off again.

This mortification was put upon the czarowitz for his neglect of duty, in not meeting his father at his triumphal entry, nor wishing him joy on his safe arrival : it is certain, a victory by sea gave him greater joy than any other victory whatever ; so that a neglect of this kind was worse taken than any thing else that could have happened. However, when his majesty heard of the princess's illness, and what had been the occasion of it, he went to see her, and told her, that she ought not to be surprised at the prince's being a serjeant, for he himself had gone through all the lowest degrees both of the land and sea-service, till he had risen by his merit to be a general in the army, and now vice-admiral of the navy ; and notwithstanding the prince had not attended to his duty as he ought to have done, yet he had recommended him to the vice-czar, and procured him an ensign's commission in the guards, and that he was now come to give her joy on her husband's preferment. This kind condescension in the czar, in a great measure, restored the princess's drooping spirits.

The rejoicings on this occasion continued a considerable time, for the grandees gave entertainments in their turns ; but, notwithstanding his majesty's resentment against the prince for his former neglect of duty, he never appeared at any of those public meetings, although he had regular

notice sent to him by general Bruce, who sent me several book iv, times to inform him of his majesty's displeasure at his non-appearance; but the old excuse—want of health—served on every occasion.

As the czar had the welfare and aggrandizing of his nation very much at heart, he neglected no opportunity to accomplish his subjects. He at this time made a regulation for holding assemblies: he appointed two every week to be held at the houses of the grandees alternately; one room being allotted for conversation, one for cards, and one for dancing; to meet at eight o'clock and end at eleven; the master of the house to provide a side-board of liquors, which should not be presented until called for, and to find cards and music: free admission to be given to all of the rank of gentlemen, foreigners as well as natives, with their wives and daughters. This new regulation extremely pleased the ladies, as it freed them from the severe restraint they laboured under, not being permitted to appear in public company; but by this means they both learned to converse and dress.

His majesty also instituted an academy this winter for the education of young gentleman; and was at much pains to provide able masters from abroad for teaching the several sciences. He likewise gave orders to the admiralty to get ready, against the ensuing spring, fifty ships of the line, with a great number of gallies and other vessels, to enable him to make a descent on Sweden next year, and to keep his forces employed, as he had been obliged to withdraw his troops from Germany by the king of Denmark's taking Holstein, and the king of Prussia Pomerania under sequestration;

And a royal academy,

BOOK IV. ^{1744.} tion ; which much displeased the czar, as he wanted, by all means, to have a footing in Germany, and to be admitted a member of that empire ; but the emperor, and the rest of the princes of the Germanic body, jealous of his growing power, took this method to get his troops out of their country. The king of Sweden, attended only by colonel Daring, and two servants, and travelling three hundred German miles in sixteen days, arrived at Stralsund the 22d of November, and directly commenced hostilities against the Prussians, which defeated the whole scheme of the Germanic body, by his not agreeing to the sequestration, brought a new enemy on himself, and afforded a decent pretext for the czar to re-enter Pomerania with his army.

Court mar-
martial on ad-
miral Kruys.

A court-martial was now appointed to enquire into the conduct of vice-admiral Kruys, for not attacking the Swedish squadron agreeable to his orders ; and he was found guilty, and sentenced to be shot for cowardice and neglect of duty. He complained of the severity of his sentence, alledging that no other nation, conversant in naval affairs, would have passed such a sentence for his conduct on that occasion ; which being represented to the czar, he transmitted copies of the trial to all the neighbouring maritime powers, especially Holland which was the admiral's native country, for their opinion concerning the sentence ; and they all agreed that it was just, and would have been inflicted on any officer, in their respective services, who had been guilty of the like behaviour. This declaration of the maritime powers being shewn to the admiral, he prayed for mercy, which the czar granted with respect to his life, but banished him to Olonetz for the remainder of his days ; and having set out,

out, and travelled one day's journey toward the place of his BOOK IV.
exile, his majesty recalled him, then gave him a free par-
don, and appointed him one of the commissioners of the
admiralty, but was never employed at sea again, in which
office he ended his days with credit.

1715.

The czar, this year, instituted the order of St. Catharine, The order of St. Catherine. in honour of the czarina, to perpetuate the memory of that love and fidelity which she manifested towards him in his distressed situation, reduced and surrounded by the Turks on the banks of the Pruth. The ensign of the order is a medal, enriched with precious stones, and adorned with the image of St. Catherine, with this motto, *For Love and Fidelity*: the medal is pendant to a broad white ribbon, wore over the right shoulder. The empress had the liberty of bestowing it on such of her own sex as she thought proper, and appeared in it herself for the first time at the festival of St. Andrew this year; the czarina first conferred the order on her two daughters, the princess Anne, afterwards married to the duke of Holstein, and the princess Elizabeth, afterwards empress of Russia; and some time after she bestowed it on the emperor's three nieces, the daughters of czar John, viz. Anne, duchess dowager of Courland, Catherine, duchess of Mecklenburg, and the princess Paskovia; and also on the princess Menzikof.

His czarish majesty having, with infinite pains and assiduity, been searching into the causes of the disorders that had crept into the administration of his affairs; and, at length discovered from whence it proceeded that his army and fleet had been so ill paid and suffered so much, that many thousand workmen had miserably perished for want of Confusions in the revenue, and the consequent dis- tress.

BOOK IV. subsistence (it was computed that upwards of one hundred thousand men lost their lives at Petersburgh) his trade decayed,
^{1715.} and his revenues in confusion, took a firm resolution to remedy these evils; and in the beginning of 1715, established a grand inquisition under the direction of general Knex Dolgoruky, to examine certain lords and others, who, it was said, had defrauded his majesty of several millions.

Many delin-
quents pu-
nished.

Most of the great men in Russia were affected by this enquiry, and were obliged to give an account of their conduct. The great admiral Apraxin, prince Menzikof, and Bruce, master of the ordnance, alledged for their excuse their absence in foreign parts, or in the field on duty, so constantly, that so far from being able to discover, or prevent the ill practices of their officers, they were ignorant of what was done at that time in their own houses, which was admitted for their excuse: but their unfaithful officers suffered severely for their infidelity, as did all others who could not justify themselves. Korsakof, vice-governor of Petersburgh, Kekin, the president; and Sinawin, the first commissioner of the admiralty; with an incredible number of other officers of the second and third rank, were called to an account; Korsakof publicly suffered the knout; Apouchin and Wolchonsky, both senators, suffered the same, and had red-hot irons drawn over their tongues; some of inferior degree were chastised with the batoags, and were sent into Siberia and other remote places, and all their estates confiscated. Several delinquents were put to the torture to make them confess the truth, as by their law no man can be condemned, if the matter is ever so clearly proved against him, unless he confesses the fact.

The

The severest torture they have is the strapado, which is thus inflicted ; they hang up the malefactor with his hands tied behind him, with a large beam fastened to his feet, upon which the executioner every now and then gets up to expedite the dislocation of his joints, which gives exquisite torment ; a fire is lighted under his feet, the smoke and heat of which both stifles and burns him. If they want to improve upon this torture they shave his head, and when he is hung up as before, they prepare cold water to drop, from a considerable fall, on the crown of his head ; which is the most exquisite torment that can be invented.

This inquisition, which had filled Petersburgh with such consternation, being ended, things were put on a much better footing to prevent in future such frauds in commissaries, and lighten the burthen on the shoulders of the people ; an entire new set of officers were appointed, called fiscals, or informers. The fiscal-general was always to attend his majesty ; a head, or over-fiscal, was appointed in the army, navy, and one in every government ; and ordinary ones were appointed in every regiment, ship, or garrison, and every court in the nation ; whose busines it was to report every thing they observed wrong in the service or administration to the head fiscals, and they to the fiscal-general, who laid their informations before the czar.

This new set of men were more feared than the czar himself ; some of them being very litigious, and bringing people often into trouble without a cause, whereof we had afterwards too many instances, which the czar perceiving put a stop to, by inflicting the punishment on them they intended for others, if they could not prove their informations :

BOOK IV. this obliged them to behave with more moderation afterwards.

^{1715.}

Nevertheless, those against whom an information was given, underwent very great hardships, being, the moment they were arrested, deprived of their salary or pay, to which they can lay no claim till they have cleared themselves of the alledged crime and are reinstated in their office or commission; and if they acquit themselves ever so honourably, they seldom or ever receive their arrears. In case of a furlough, none in the service were allowed pay till they entered again upon duty. If an officer, a native Russian, was broke by a court-martial for neglect of duty, he was commonly sentenced to carry arms as a private soldier, and never arrived at his former rank except his merit raised him, and then he lost his seniority. It is to be observed, that if this were not the case with the Russians, the greatest part of them would endeavour to be reduced to get free from the army. The distinction made between their pay and that of foreigners, creates no small discontent among them and very justly. Officers of equal rank, and in the same regiment, have three different pays; for instance, a captain, who is a foreigner, has eighteen rubles * a month; a captain, of foreign parents, born in Russia, has fifteen rubles; and a native Russian has only twelve rubles; and so through every rank in the service in proportion: this makes them look on all foreigners with an evil eye.

The czar's
public enter-
tainments.

The czar now gave frequent balls and entertainments at his own winter and summer palaces, and not at prince Menzikoff's as formerly; but finding this inconvenient, ordered a large house to be built mid-way between them, for a

* The value of a ruble is about 4s. sterling. They have besides, forage, quarters, &c.

general

general Post-Office, with spacious rooms above stairs for BOOK IV.
public balls and entertainments ; but on grand festivals,
and extraordinary occasions, the entertainments were given
at the senate-house ; between which and the fort was a spa-
cious open place where they played off the fire-works.
Upon these public meetings, a great many tables were co-
vered for all degrees of persons ; one for the czar and the
grandees ; one for the clergy, one for the officers of the
army, one for those of the navy ; one for the merchants,
ship-builders, foreign skippers, &c. all in different rooms ;
the czarina, and the ladies, had their rooms above stairs ;
all these tables were served with cold meat, and sweet meats,
wet and dry, interspersed with some dishes of hot meat :
these entertainments commonly ended with very hard drink-
ing. After dinner, the czar went from one room and table
to another, conversing with every set according to their dif-
ferent professions or employments ; especially with the mas-
ters of foreign trading vessels, inquiring very particularly
into the several branches of their trade. At these times, I
have seen the Dutch skippers treat him with much fami-
liarity, calling him by no other name but *Skipper Peter*,
with which the czar was highly delighted. In the mean time,
he made good use of the information he got from them, al-
ways marking it down in his pocket-book.

The emperor having engaged one Mr. Slitter, a famous Mr. Slitter's architect, with a number of good tradesmen in his service, perpetuum mobile,
he was lodged in the summer-palace to be near the czar.
This gentleman had, at this time, a multiplicity of business
on his hands in building palaces, houses, academies, manu-
factories, printing-houses, &c. and as he had but few hands
for

BOOK IV. for drawing his plans, I offered him my assistance in that way, provided he would instruct me in the rules of architecture, which he gladly accepted of, and I attended him every day. The czar was frequently with him, and seeing my drawings, was so much pleased with them, that I was afterwards much employed in drawing his plans, both of civil and military architecture.

Mr. Slitter was of a weak sickly constitution, and being much fatigued with continual business, he sickened and died, when he had been but one year at Petersburg ; he had spent much time in endeavouring to contrive a perpetuum mobile, the intense study of which had much impaired his health, and before he died he had brought it the length of being put in motion ; the model of his machine was a circular brass frame, eighteen inches deep, and two yards diameter, with hollow plates of the same metal, four inches in length placed round on the inside, into which a cannon ball was put ; the plates being moved by springs, forced the ball in a perpetual round ; each of the plates directing several whcels which occasioned many different motions ; but the springs and wheels frequently breaking, it took up much time in repairing them. Mr. Slitter always locked himself up when he was at work upon it, and nobody was suffered to enter the room except the czar, who was frequently shut up with him. After his death, his foreman was employed about it, but he also soon after sickened and died, and the machine was locked up ; and I never could learn whether any person afterwards attempted to bring it to perfection. During my attendance on the architect, I only had twice an opportunity of seeing it.

At

At this time Knez Golitzin, general of our army in Fin- ^{BOOK iv.} land, sent an old man to Peterburgh, aged one hundred and twenty years; of a healthy constitution, had all his ^{1711.} The old Fin-lander. fenses entire, and walked strait. The czar took much pleasure in conversing with him, and offered to keep him at court, where he might end his days in ease; but the old man begged his majesty to permit him to return to his native place, saying, he had been used to hard labour and spare diet, and if he should now alter his way of living, it would very soon cut him off: if he were allowed to live in his former way, he hoped God would add some few years more to his days; upon which consideration, the czar, having given him a present, sent him home again; I heard six years after this that he was still alive.

There was so severe a frost here this winter, that numbers of people lost their noses, ears, fingers, and toes by it; it was very common with people in passing each other to call out to take care of their noses, for those bit by the frost are not sensible of it themselves, when it is easily perceived by others, on seeing the parts affected white with the frost; the only cure is to rub the part with snow, till they recover their feeling; it is dangerous in that condition to enter into a stove, or warm room, as it is commonly attended with the loss of the part affected. The river Neve was covered with ice the latter end of September, and was passable in twenty-four hours, occasioned by large shoals of ice coming down from lake Ladoga; they were cemented by the frost, and as the strong current forces one piece above another, it becomes very thick, and so rugged a surface, that people were em-

BOOK IV. ployed in cutting smooth paths every where across the rivers,
from one part of the city to another ; it was the first of

^{1715.} May before the river broke up again, when the people were warned by the firing of a gun to get off the ice ; then it broke very suddenly with a great noise, and in two or three hours time there was no more ice to be seen ; some part of it floats down into the sea, but the much greater part sinks to the bottom. Notwithstanding this precaution, great numbers are drowned here every spring, the break is so sudden.

Experiment
on the bear.

Having been often told, that the bears are buried all winter under the snow, and have nothing to live on but sucking their paws ; as this appeared to me incredible, I procured a cub, and brought him up till he grew very large : I fixed a mast in the ground, with a wheel on the top of it, and put a ring round the mast, with a chain about the bear's neck, placing a large box at the foot of the mast for him to lay in. He used to climb up the mast, and sit upon the wheel, where he played many tricks which were very diverting ; I fed him with bread and oats, but never gave him flesh : sometimes he broke his chain, and found his way to some shops where they sold honey, in the neighbourhood of my quarters, where he used to fill his belly with honey, as they did not dare to prevent him for fear. Upon the falling of the snow, in the beginning of winter, he took to his box, where he remained a month without once offering to stir out, nor had any thing to eat, but sucked his paws ; I laid bread at the door of his hut, but he would not come out to eat it, yet he ate it when thrown in to him. Toward

the

the spring, a young hog happening to stroll too near his book iv.
cell, he got hold of it and pulled it in ; but all we could do, we could not save it from him, and after he had once drawn blood and tasted flesh, he grew so fierce that he became unmanageable, attacking every body that came near him, so that I was obliged to kill him ; his skin served me for a cover to my saddle. It is remarkable, that when he was beaten, he would put his nose between his fore-paws, from an instinctive knowledge of his natural weakness, for the least stroke on the nose kills them.

The Russians kill many thousands of them every winter for their skins, and only eat their paws, which is esteemed a delicious repast ; they never shoot them for fear of spoiling the skin, but as the bears commonly build their hut at the root of a tree, they mark the tree, and when they are buried in the snow, the steam of their breath ascending, makes a hole up through the snow, by which their den is discovered ; the country people go in a body upon sketzers, to prevent their sinking down in the snow, surround the place, and making a noise, frighten him out of his hut, and as he cannot make his way through the loose snow, they are commonly killed by a stroke on the nose.

Method of killing them.

BOOK V.

Descent upon Sweden.—Birth of the emperor's grandson Peter, and death of the princess his mother.—The birth of Peter Petrovitz, son to the emperor.—A carnival.—The czar's double eagle.—The czar's attention to improve his capital and country.—His military rewards and punishments.—Thirty tall grenadiers for the king of Prussia.—A horrid murder at Riga.—Contributions on Dantzig.—His scheme in taking Weismar.—Conference with the king of Denmark and arrival at Copenhagen.—The combined fleets.—The Danes alarmed.—Refuse subsistence to the troops.—A conference with the king of Denmark in his capital, with its consequences.—The story of lieutenant general Bokn.—Oppressive scheme of the duke of Mecklenburg.—The distress of his people.—The czarowitz disappears.—The captain refused leave to quit the Russian service.—The czar's return from Paris.—The return of his army to Petersburg.—Disorders in his absence redressed.—Attempt to discover a north passage to India.—The fatal expedition of prince Beckwitz.—A new regulation at Petersburg, and a silk manufactory at Moscow.

BOOK V.

1715.

Descent on
Sweden.

AS to the operations of this year's campaign, field-marshall count Zeremetof was sent, in the month of March, with 12,000 men, to strengthen the army of the allies in Pomerania, who were to reduce Weismar, the only place the king of Sweden had now left in Germany.

The czar, as soon as the river and sea were clear from the ice, embarked his troops on board the gallies, and went with them to Cronslot, where he joined his fleet, consisting of fifty ships of the line ; he sailed from thence to Revel, where he continued to the end of June, and then sailed to Gothland, and stationed the fleet so as to prevent the Swedes from sending any reinforcements from Stockholm into Pomerania. In the mean time, a body of cavalry were detached

tached from the army in Finland, round the Bothnic gulf, BOOK V.
1715.
to penetrate the northern provinces of Sweden, which threw
that kingdom into great consternation. About the middle
of September, the czar sailed from Gothland to the coast
of Sundermania, and landed 15,000 men at Jevel, within
a few leagues of the Swedish army, and having laid waste
all the country round them, he re-embarked with a great
booty and sailed to Revel, and from thence to Petersburgh,
where he arrived the beginning of October.

On the 22d of that month, the Imperial princess, con-
sort to the czarowitz, was delivered of a son, who was bap-
tised by the name of Peter, and had the title of grand duke
conferred on him to the great joy of the czar, but that was
soon interrupted by the death of the princess who brought him
into the world, which happened on the ninth day from
her delivery, in the twenty-first year of her age, having
been married four years and six days, to a husband utterly
unworthy of so virtuous and every way deserving a
princess. When she was convinced of her end approaching,
she desired to see the czar, and when he came, she took her
leave of him in the most moving language and affecting
manner, recommending her two children to his care, and
her servants to his protection; and having embraced her
children, and bedewed them with the tears of maternal af-
fection, she delivered them to the czarowitz, who carried
them to his own apartments, but never once returned, or
made the least enquiry after their mother and his amiable
consort; indeed, he had never, from the day of their mar-
riage to that of her death, nor on the present moving ten-
der scene, shewed the smallest conjugal regard or concern for

Birth of the
emperor's
grandson, Pe-
ter, and death
of the prin-
cess his mo-
ther.

BOOK V. her, so that she may be said to have been truly unhappy.

^{1715.} When her physicians would have persuaded her to take some medicine, she said with emotion, "Do not torment me any more, but let me die in quiet, for I will live no longer." She expired on the first of November, and her corpse, by her own desire, was interred, without being embalmed, in the great church of the fortress on the seventh, with all the funeral pomp and honours due to her birth.

Birth of Peter Petrowitz the emperor's son. On the day after the princess's interment, the empress was brought to bed of a prince, to the unspeakable joy of the czar; the rejoicings on that occasion lasted eight days, and he was also baptised by the name of Peter. The solemnities on this occasion were attended with most extraordinary pomp; as splendid entertainments, balls, and fireworks: at one of the entertainments, three curious pies were served up; upon opening the first at the table of the grandes, out stepped a naked female dwarf, having nothing on but a head-dress; she made a speech to the company, and then the pie was carried away; at the table of the ladies, a male dwarf was served up in the same manner; out of the third, at the table of the gentlemen, sprung a covey of twelve partridges, with such a fluttering noise, as greatly surprised the company; in the evening a noble firework was played off, in honour of the new-born Peter, with several curious devices, and on the top of all was this inscription, in large characters:

HOPE WITH PATIENCE.

A carnival. These rejoicings were followed by a kind of carnival; the czar having united the patriarchal dignity, and the great

revenues belonging to it to the crown, and to render the ~~BOOK V.~~
character of the patriarch ridiculous in the eyes of the peo-
ple, he appointed Sotof, his jester, now in the eighty-
fourth year of his age, mock-patriarch, who on this occa-
sion was married to a buxom widow of thirty-four, and
the nuptials of this extraordinary couple were celebrated in
masquerade by about four hundred persons of both sexes,
every four persons having their proper dress and peculiar
musical instruments ; the persons appointed to invite the
company were four of the greatest stammerers in the king-
dom ; the four running footmen were the most unwieldy
gouty, fat men, that could be found ; the bride-men, stew-
ards, and waiters were very old men ; and the priest that
joined them in marriage was upwards of one hundred years
old. The procession, which began at the czar's palace,
and crossed the river upon the ice, proceeded to the great
church near the senate-house, was in the following order :
first, a sledge, with the four footmen ; secondly, another
with the stammerers, the bride-men, stewards, and waiters ;
then followed Knez Romadanofski, the farcical czar, who
represented king David in his dress, but instead of a harp,
had a lyre, covered with a bear-skin, to play upon ; and
he being the chief character in the show, his sledge was
made in imitation of a throne, and he had king David's
crown upon his head, and four bears, one at each corner,
tied to his sledge, by way of footmen, and one behind stand-
ing and holding the sledge with his two paws ; the bears
being all the while pricked with goads, which made them
roar in a frightful manner ; then the bridegroom and bride,
on an elevated sledge made on purpose, surrounded with
cupids

1715.

M E M O I R S O F

BOOK V. cupids holding each a large horn in his hand; on the forepart of the sledge was placed by way of coachman, a ram with very large horns; and behind, was a he-goat by way of lacquey; behind them followed a number of other sledges, drawn by different kinds of animals, four to each, as rams, goats, deer, bulls, bears, dogs, wolves, swine, and asses; then came a number of sledges, drawn by six horses each, with the company; the sledges were made long, with a bench in the middle, stuffed with hair and covered with cloth; twenty persons in one sledge, sitting behind each other, as on horseback. The procession no sooner began to move, than all the bells of the city began to ring, and all the drums of the fort, toward which they were advancing, began to beat upon the ramparts; the different animals were forced to make a noise; all the company playing upon, or rattling their different instruments, and altogether made such a terrible confused noise, that it is past description. The czar, with his three companions, prince Menzikof, and the counts Apraxin and Bruce, were clad like Friesland boors; each with a drum. From church the procession returned to the palace, where all the company were entertained till twelve at night, when the same procession went by the light of flambeaux to the bride's house, to see the young married couple fairly bedded.

This carnival lasted ten days, the company going every day from one house to another, at each of which were tables spread with all sorts of cold meat, and with such abundance of strong liquors every where, that there scarce was a sober person to be found during that time in Petersburgh. On the tenth day, the czar gave a grand entertainment at the senate-

senate-house, on the close of which, every one of the guests was presented with a large glass with a cover, called the Double-Eagle, containing a large bottle of wine, which every body was obliged to drink; to avoid this I made my escape, pretending to the officer upon guard, that I was sent on a message from the czar, which he believing, let me pass, and I went to the house of a Mr. Kelderman, who had formerly been one of the czar's tutors, and was still in great favour with him; Mr. Kelderman followed me very soon, but not before he had drank his double-eagle, and coming into his own house, he complained that he was sick with drinking, and sitting down by the table, laid his head on it, and appeared as if fallen asleep; it being a common custom with him, his wife and daughters took no notice of it, till after some time they observed him neither to move or breathe, and coming close up to him found he was stiff and dead, which threw the family into great confusion. Knowing the esteem in which he stood with the czar, I went and informed him of the sudden death of Mr. Kelderman. His majesty's concern at the event, brought him immediately to the house, where he condoled with the widow for the loss of her husband, and ordered an honourable burial for the deceased at his own expence, and provided an annuity for her life. Thus ended that noisy carnival, but it was some time before the members could fully recover their senses.

On the 14th of January, 1716, in the fifty-first year ^{1716.} of her age, died Martha Apraxin, czarina dowager, the widow of czar Feodor, his majesty's eldest brother; she was sister to the great admiral Apraxin; she had only lived four

BOOK V. four weeks in the matrimonial state ; her funeral was by
 ————— torch-light, and the pomp thereof suited to her exalted
 1716. rank ; the corpse was deposited in the church of the fort-
 res, where already lay one prince, two princesses, the czar's
 children, and the imperial princess.

The czar's
 attention to
 improve his
 capital and
 country.

The czar was all this time indefatigable in the improvements of his country, not only in building ships, forts, and houses, but he provided his new academy with able masters, to teach all the branches of learning necessary for the education of young gentlemen ; he also erected printing-houses, well supplied with able translators of all languages, who translated all the most valuable books then in Europe into the Russian language, his agents abroad buying up the most valuable books, and whole libraries at auctions ; and it was truly surprising, to see such a grand collection already in Petersburgh. Here was also an elegant chamber of rarities, containing every thing that was curious in all the different parts of the world, and likewise a fine collection of coins, medals, &c. &c. over which presided, as keeper, Mr. Shumacker, a very ingenious and learned man, who had formerly been secretary to Dr. Erskine, his majesty's chief physician. The famous globe of Gothorp, mentioned before in the observatory, was a present from the king of Denmark, and brought to Petersburgh at a vast expence. The king of Prussia presented the czar with an amber cabinet, reckoned one of the greatest curiosities in Europe of its kind ; there was a curious collection of wild beasts, birds, &c. one of the largest elephants in all Asia, with all his warlike accoutrements, attended by several Indians ; reindeer, with their sledges, and Laplander attendants ; the
 Vene-

Venetian gondolas, with their gondoliers, &c. &c. all which ^{BOOK V.} shews, that the czar intended, in the course of time, to make —————
Russia worthy the observation of every traveller. ^{1716.}

At Moscow he erected large manufactories for woollen and linen cloth, as also glass-works for making window-glass and looking-glass, under the direction of Englishmen. The Russians had formerly only used ifinglass for their windows and coaches ; for at the building of Petersburgh, they were obliged to take all their glass from England. Although they shipped yearly great quantities of hemp to all parts of Europe, yet they were obliged to bring their sail-cloth and cordage, manufactured abroad, from their own hemp. To remedy this evil, the czar erected manufactories for sail-cloth, and rope-walks at Moscow, Novogrod, and Petersburgh ; and that nothing might be wanting for the improvement of his country, skilful miners were got from Hungary and Saxony, who discovered metals of all sorts, gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron ; which last article they were obliged formerly to purchase from Sweden, but they now supply other countries with it.

It was surprising to see so many great things undertaken and put in execution by one single person, without the assistance and help of any one ; his own great genius and indefatigable application to things, presiding over all, and seeing every thing with his own eyes, without trusting to the reports of others ; so that never monarch was less imposed on than himself. It is to be observed, that the natives, from the highest to the lowest, if they discover any thing of value in their grounds, let it be of what quality it will, keep it a secret, lest their slaves should be employed to work it ; so all discoveries of ,

BOOK V. that kind are owing to foreigners : by this means many valuable things remain undiscovered, which otherwise might
^{1716.} redound to the riches of this nation.

In the month of February, colonel Swarts arrived here from Casan ; he had been sent thither with a German regiment of twelve hundred men, composed of the Swedish prisoners, and now brought intelligence that he had fallen in with a body of six thousand Cuban Tartars, who had made an irruption into the kingdom of Casan, and were returning home with about eight thousand Russian captives whom they were carrying into slavery ; that he had not only relieved the captives, but defeated the Cubans, and made a great number of them prisoners, among whom was the chan's son, whom he caused to be hanged up immediately, with several of his companions in robbery : for this service the czar made him a present of an estate of an hundred boors.

His military rewards and punishments. It was an invariable maxim with the czar to reward merit wherever he found it : after a victory by sea or land, every officer was presented with a gold chain and medal, of a value proportioned to his rank, and every soldier a silver one, or a month's pay in lieu of it ; and the officer who had distinguished himself out of the common way had the first promotion : on the other hand, the soldier or officer who had misbehaved, was punished with great severity. The czar took no notice of people on account of their high birth and family, but promoted merit in every station, even in the meanest plebeian, saying, that high birth was only chance, and if not accompanied with merit ought not to be regarded. History scarce affords an example where

so many people of low birth have been raised to such dignities as in czar Peter's reign, or where so many of the highest birth and fortune have been levelled to the lowest ranks in life.

BOOK V.

1716.

On the 6th of February, their majesties set out for Dantzig, accompanied by the princess Catherine, second daughter of czar Ivan, (or John) and niece to his majesty, and arrived the 29th. On the 19th of April, the princess was married to Charles Leopold, duke of Mecklenburgh.

I was ordered this winter to discipline thirty grenadiers, intended for a present to the king of Prussia ; they were collected from different parts of the czar's dominions, and were from six feet six, to six feet nine inches high, without shoes ; they were taught the Prussian exercise, armed in their manner, and clad in their uniform and caps : amongst the number, there was one Indian, who had attended the elephant, one Turk, two Persians, and three Tartars, and it might probably be said with propriety, that no prince in the world had a guard composed of so many different nations as the king of Prussia, considering the presents of men sent him from all parts of Europe.

By orders from prince Menzikoff, I set out on the 25th of March from Petersburgh, to conduct the thirty grenadiers to Berlin ; and as the roads were still good for travelling on the snow, we were furnished with horses and sledges to Riga : we arrived at Narva the 30th, and at Riga the 12th of April, where I rested three days to refresh the men. Here we saw twelve men broke alive upon the wheel ; their crime was as follows :

A man who kept a tavern, or inn, without one of the gates of the city, and had also a windmill on his ground,

A horrid murder at Riga.

BOOK V. having detected one of his men-servants in several frauds,
— turned him away, and retained his wages for some little
^{1716.} indemnification ; the fellow, at his going away, threatened
his master he would make him repent detaining his wages ;
whereupon he went and associated himself with eleven more
as bad as himself. Soon after this they went to the house
in the middle of the night, and meeting one of the maid-
servants going for water, they murdered her, and put her
body under the ice ; they then entered the house and sta-
bles, and murdered three other women, and five men-serv-
ants ; at last, they entered the landlord's apartments, and
murdered his wife and three of his children before his face ;
the fourth, a boy of five years old, had hid himself in the
confusion, below a bed unperceived ; they then forced the
landlord to open all his chests and drawers, and carried away
what was portable and valuable out of the house ; they then
tied the landlord neck and heel to the foot of a large table,
at which they sat down and regaled themselves with the
best things the house afforded : here they concluded putting
hay and straw in all the apartments, and then set the house
on fire, that the villain of a landlord, as they called him,
might be burnt alive, and which would also consume the
murdered bodies, and prevent any possibility of discovery ;
and to make all sure, they brought the servant maid's body
from under the ice, and laid it down by her living master :
after this well-laid plot, they set the house on fire, and fled
with their booty. The little boy, who was hid under the
bed, was forced from thence by the smoke, and the father
perceiving the child called to him, and desired him to take
a knife out of his pocket, and cut the cord from off his
hands,

hands, which the child did : the father being thus cleared, BOOK V. took his little son in his arms, and made his way through the flames, and immediately retired into the covered way of the town, for fear of being discovered by any of the villains who might be still lurking near the place. The house and outhouses being all in flames, the governor ordered the gates to be opened, and sent out a party of men to try to save what they could from the fire ; but before they could get to the place all was burnt to the ground ; so that the plot of those villains was so well laid, that if it had not been owing to the miraculous preservation of the child and his father, it might have remained a secret to this day. The landlord discovering himself to the officer that was at the head of the detachment, intreated that he might be privately carried to the governor, to whom he discovered the whole of this dreadful scene, and who gave orders to secure and examine all persons who should enter the town that morning ; by which caution the villains, apprehending themselves secure from every possibility of discovery, as all evidence had perished in the fire, were, on their entering the town, every one taken.

The 16th of April I set out from Riga, and went by Mittau and Polangen, and arrived at Memel the 24th, having travelled all the way in waggons ; from hence I went by water to Staken, passing the haff, or bay of Courland, which is fifteen German miles, and from thence to Konigsberg, where I arrived on the 26th ; where I was kindly received, and great care was taken of the men, as they were to be of the king's guards. It being rumoured about the town that these men were of several different nations, it brought

BOOK V. great crouds of people to see them: We remained here in
—
^{1716.} free quarters to the 2d of May, when I set off for Elbing,
and arrived at Dantzig the 5th, when I found the city so
crowded, that I could not get my men quartered there, and
was obliged to march forward to Closter of Oliva. There
were at this time residing in Dantzig, the czar and czarina,
king Augustus of Poland, and the duke and duchess of
Mecklenburg, with all their numerous retinues; the czar was
at present gone to Pillau to review forty-five of his gallies,
that were arrived there from Petersburgh, with eight thousand
men on board; I waited, therefore, upon the czarina, who
ordered me to stay at Oliva till his majesty's return, which
happened on the 9th; and he came next day with the duke
of Mecklenburgh to Oliva, where he reviewed the grena-
diers, making them go through their exercize, and was very
well pleased with their performance: his majesty then
ordered me to proceed to Berlin, by slow marches, for fear of
fatiguing the men.

His contrib-
utions on
Dantzig.

The Dantzigers did not seem much pleased either with
the czar, or the king of Poland at this time; who had ob-
liged the city not only to renounce all commerce with the
Swedes, but to equip four ships of war to cruise against
them; and also to pay the czar one hundred thousand rix-
dollars. His majesty setting out from thence, the 10th, for
Mecklenburgh, with all his retinue, was saluted by one
hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, to convince him they
were in no want of artillery. I sat out with my men the
next day, and got to Stolpe the 15th, where I understood
that the czar and the king of Prussia had held a private confer-
ence three days before; in which they had agreed, as I after-
wards

wards learnt, not to suffer the king of Sweden to make any attempt on the dominions of the Dane; nor to assist the Danes in any attempt against the Swedes, who were already sufficiently reduced; having lost all their foreign provinces, and had now nothing left but Sweden itself.

I cannot here omit mentioning the czar's designs relative to the town and fort of Weismar, which lay very convenient for the duke of Mecklenburgh, being near to Schwerin and Rostock. The czar had promised the duke to take that place from the Swedes, and put him in possession of it; for this purpose he assembled an army of twenty-six thousand men to besiege it; but the troops of Denmark, Prussia, and Hanover, having got possession of it, put each two battalions of their troops in garrison, without admitting any of the Russian troops, which entirely frustrated that design, to the no small disappointment of the czar. This transaction of the allies he could never digest, but resented it upon every occasion, as will be afterwards seen in the intended descent on Schonen, and other transactions. The czar had it always much at heart to get footing in Germany: first, he offered to assist the emperor with twenty-five thousand men, at his own expence, against France, if he should be admitted a member of the Roman empire; but in this he was disappointed; secondly, by the marriage of his niece with the duke of Mecklenburgh, and promising him Weismar; intending thereby to get a safe harbour for his shipping in those parts. It was afterwards proposed to the duke to exchange Mecklenburgh for an equivalent, which must have been either Courland or Livonia. But the princes of the empire having grown very jealous of the czar's exorbitant power, frustrated him in all his views of getting any footing in the empire.

Even

BOOK V. Even the regent of France interested himself so far as to get
the czar's promise to withdraw his forces out of Germany.

1716.

On the 16th of May, I set out from Stolpe, and arrived at Berlin the 27th, with all the men, in good health and high spirits. I was conducted, by an officer upon guard, to the house of field-marshal count Wartenfleben, to whom I delivered a letter from prince Menzikoff ; the field-marshal immediately ordered the men into quarters of refreshment, till the king should return from Potsdam, which he did in two days after ; and when his majesty reviewed the men, he declared they were the best shaped, and handsomest men of their sizes, he had ever seen ; and was very much pleased with them. When I had delivered up my charge, I retired ; and the next day the field-marshal presented me with a purse of two hundred ducats : the distance between Petersburgh and Berlin is 1210 Russian wersts, or 807 English miles.

As many of my relations resided in and about Berlin, from whom I had now been absent ten years, I passed three months very agreeably among them : they endeavoured to persuade me to leave the Russian, and return to the Prussian service, from an opinion that it might easily be obtained at present, as I had just brought his majesty the most desireable present he could receive ; and my friends consulted field-marshal Wartenfleben and general Gerodorf about it, who were both of opinion, that it might be easily accomplished at present, if I could obtain my discharge from the Russian service. While my relations were using all their interest to get this change brought about, an express was brought me from field-marshal count Zeremetof, with orders to join him immediately at Rostock, in Mecklenburg, and to attend him as aid-de-camp to Denmark,

Denmark, as he had none at that time that could speak the BOOK V. language. Upon which I set out immediately from Berlin, ——————
1716. and I arrived at Rostock the 24th of August; the marshal set out next day for Warnemunde, where we found our troops embarking.

His majesty the czar had held a long conference with Conference with the king of Denmark, and arrival at Copenhagen. the king of Denmark at Ham and Horn, near Hamburg, which lasted from the 28th of May to the 4th of June; in which a descent upon Schonen was agreed upon and concerted. On the 5th of June, the czar set out for Pyrmont, to drink the waters; and returned the 30th to Schwerin, the residence of the duke of Mecklenburgh. The 4th of July, he went to Rostock and Warnemunde, where the forty-five gallies were arrived from Dantzig, with eight thousand troops on board, with which he then set sail for Denmark, and was met at Provestein by his Danish majesty, who went on board the czar's galley, and they arrived together at Copenhagen the 17th.

On the 28th of August, marshal Zeremetoff set sail from Warnemunde with ten thousand men, and arrived at Copenhagen the 29th. The marshal going ashore to the house fitted up for him in the city, the custom-house officers came on board to search his baggage, but were prevented by the officer then upon guard; upon which they stopped the ship from entering the harbour, and I was sent to the custom-house to know why the ship, with the marshal's baggage, was hindered from entering into the harbour? There they told me it was to search for merchandize; I replied, it was not customary for Russian generals to turn merchants, and assured them there was no merchandize at all on board the

Y ship;

BOOK V. ship ; and that the marshal would certainly resent such injurious treatment : upon this an order was sent to bring the ship into the harbour, and upon landing the baggage, the custom-house officers had a watchful eye on every thing that was brought on shore. The next day, a gentleman was sent from court to the marshal, to apologise for the indecent behaviour of the custom-house, and to assure him the officers concerned in that rudeness were all fined and turned out of their places.

The combin-ed fleets. At this time admiral Norris, and rear admiral Graves, lay before Copenhagen with an English and Dutch squadron, to whom the czar now proposed to join the Russian and Danish fleets, and drive the Swedes into port ; which was agreed to, and the czar to command the combined fleet, with admiral Norris to command the van, the czar the centre, and the Danish vice-admiral the rear divisions ; and admiral Graves was to convoy the trade of both nations to their respective harbours. The czar accordingly hoisted his imperial flag, and weighed with the fleet ; but passing by Bornholm, they were informed that the Swedish fleet were gone to Carlscoorn ; upon this the combined fleet separated ; the czar went to Stralsund, embarked his troops that were quartered there, and carried them to Copenhagen.

The Danes alarmed. By this augmentation, our army consisted of 24,000 men, all encamped very near the capital, which roused the jealousy and alarmed the fears of the Danes so much, that they drew their forces together from all parts of Zealand to Copenhagen ; great part of which were encamped upon the ramparts all round it, and they placed a strong guard at every gate,

gate, with strict orders not to suffer above one hundred Russians to enter the city at once to get water, as there was none elsewhere to be got. This water was brought from the king's park, a considerable distance, into the city through pipes : but one hundred men being found insufficient to carry water for such an army, they permitted fifty more to enter at a time, one party being ready to enter as soon as the other came out ; but as they were often hindered from supplying themselves by the Danish soldiers, who thought themselves entitled to be first served, this occasioned great disorders ; at last, it came to blows, and several were killed and wounded on both sides : the Russians finding the guard too partial to their own people, seized, disarmed, and drove them off. After they arrived at the camp, they began to dig for water every where, and happening upon one of the pipes that conveyed the water into the city, they cut it, by which they were afterwards very well supplied : but being ill supplied with fire-wood for dressing their victuals, they began to cut down the trees in the park, and had cut down a great number before a stop could be put to it by their officers ; several of the ring-leaders were severely punished for it.

The Danes had agreed to serve us with provisions only for the 16,000 men the czar stipulated to bring to their assistance, and now refused subsistence for the 8000 brought from Stralsund, alledging they came without their consent or knowledge : so that from henceforth there was nothing but jealousy and mistrust on both sides, which, however, did not interrupt the court diversions of balls, assemblies, and masquerades. During the three months the czar was

BOOK V. at Copenhagen, he attentively visited their colleges and academies, and saw every thing that was curious in the place; ————— ^{1716.} he went also almost every day out in a boat, sounding and surveying the coasts both of Denmark and Sweden so exactly, that the least bank of sand did not escape his observation; and he laid down the whole in a chart. One day when he was coasting Schonen, to discover a proper landing-place, on his return he met with a fresh contrary gale of wind, which prevented his reaching Copenhagen with day-light; the czarina sent to the governor to desire the gate might be left open till the czar's arrival, which he promised to do; and upon my being sent by the marshal to see if this was complied with, I found it shut; and was told by the officer of the guard that the keys were sent to the king. I reported this to the marshal, who went himself to the governor, who, after some frivolous apology, that the keys had been sent by mistake to the king, told him, now that his majesty was at rest, he durst not disturb him. It was one o'clock in the morning before the czar could make the land, and not being able to make the harbour, or get the boat near the shore, he jumped out up to the neck in water, waded ashore, and walked in his wet clothes all the way up to the gates, which finding shut, he returned to the suburbs, went into the lodging of an officer of his own guards, where he shifted himself with the officer's linen and clothes, and rested the remaining part of the night: in the morning he dressed in the officer's regimentals, and although they were much too short for him, yet he walked up the city in them, where he was met by the czarina, the marshal, and several others. Many were the apologies for the mistakes

mistakes and blunders committed, and both the governor and colonel of the guard were put under arrest; but the czar laughed at it, and interceded for them, saying, they had only done their duty; and they were accordingly released.

BOOK V.

1716.

A few days after this the two crowned heads met, and held a council of war, attended only by their prime ministers and field-marshals, thereby to keep the measures they were to take a profound secret: it was resolved at this meeting to make a descent on Schonen without loss of time. Notwithstanding the method taken to keep this intended expedition a secret, it was immediately known all over the city, insomuch, that I heard every step that was to be taken from a Danish officer in a public coffee-house. When I informed the marshal thereof, he was very much surprised; and the czar, with the prime minister, coming at the time to dine with him, he repeated what I had heard in the town, wherewith the czar seemed very much dissatisfied.

The troops, however, were all in motion getting ready to embark, and a demand was made for one month's provision for the army; to which we were told, there was no occasion for any, as there had been a plentiful harvest at Schonen, where we would meet with every thing we stood in need of; and besides, as there was an open communication with Copenhagen, we could be supplied from thence as we had occasion. The czar not relishing this, told the king it was now too late in the year to attempt such an enterprize, as nothing was provided beforehand, and therefore it ought to be laid aside till next spring; but if his majesty was resolved to venture on the descent this season, the czar,

agreed-

BOOK V. agreeable to the treaty made at Stralsund, would assist him with the fifteen battalions therein stipulated. The king then desired the assistance of thirteen more battalions, which the czar refused, saying, that he had occasion for his troops elsewhere. To this the king returned, that since matters stood thus, he desired none of his troops, and wished that they might all speedily be withdrawn from his dominions, that the transports which cost him 40,000 rixdollars a month might be discharged : accordingly, all our troops embarked on the 19th of September, and we lay near a month wind-bound before Copenhagen, and became so distressed for fire-wood, which was not to be procured at any price, that the czar ordered ten of his gallies to be cut up for that purpose, and distributed among the fleet.

The story of
Lieutenant-
general
Bohn.

While we were at Copenhagen, a circumstance happened to a lieutenant-general of our service, whose name was Bohn, which I cannot omit mentioning. He was born on the island of Bornholm, where his father had been a minister ; his mother was left a very poor widow, and now hearing that her son was at Copenhagen, a general in the Russian service, she came to see him, and calling at his lodgings, was told by his servants that he was not at home : she desired the servants to tell their master that she was his mother, and was come from Bornholm on purpose to see him, and would call again next morning. Upon this information, the general flew into a great passion, saying, his mother had been dead many years ago, and that this must be some needy person or other, or perhaps, out of her mind ; and ordered his aid-de-camp, if she called again, to give her ten ducats, and send her away, that he might not be

farther troubled with her. The mother calling next morning, the aid-de-camp did as he was directed, and offered her the ten ducats as his master's charity ; she threw them with disdain upon the ground, and said, with tears in her eyes, she did not come to beg charity, but to see her son ; and since he could both deny and despise his mother, she would return from whence she came, and trouble him no more. This made so great a noise all over the town, that it came to the czarina's ears : she sent for the woman, who soon satisfied the empress that she was the general's mother ; he was sent for, and received a reprimand for his unnatural behaviour, and was ordered to settle two hundred rubles a year on his mother for her life, which was complied with ; and he was, in the mean time, twitted with general Baur's generous behaviour to his poor relations, who was not ashamed of them, though of a lower degree than his. This reprimand put the general into great confusion, and he was afterwards very much disregarded.

We weighed from Copenhagen early in the morning of the 12th of October, with a fresh breeze at North, and arrived the next day at Warnemunde, in Mecklenburgh ; the whole army disembarked the same day and encamped. Two days after our departure from Copenhagen, the czar had a grand entertainment from the Danish monarch, and having taken leave of that court, sat out next day, with the empress, in his way to Hamburg, and having passed the Belt, and taken a view of Toningen and Frederickstadt, proceeded for Lubeck and Schwerin.

Field-marshal count Zeremetof was now ordered to march with 12,000 men through Pomerania into Poland ; and

Oppressive
scheme of the
duke of
Mecklen-
burgh.
12,000

BOOK V. 12,000 men were quartered in Mecklenburgh, under the command of general Weyde, at the duke's own desire, as a means to distress and humble the nobility of his country, who were at law with him at the Imperial court to support their rights. When the marshal was sent into Poland, with part of the army, I was ordered, on account of the language, to remain with general Weyde as his aid-de-camp, at his own request : we were quartered at Gustrow, and the army upon the estates of the nobility, by an order from the duke himself, who laid them under most oppressive contributions, which utterly ruined them : they had recourse to the Imperial court, and the diet of the empire, for redress of their grievances, who did all they could to persuade the czar to withdraw his troops out of Germany ; but the czar was now gone from Schwerin to Havelberg, where he had a private interview, for two days together, with the king of Prussia, and then went to Hamburg, and from thence to Amsterdam, where he arrived the 6th of December, and waited for the arrival of the empress, who, when she was preparing to set out from Wesel, was delivered of a prince, the 2d of January, 1717 ; but the child died the day it was born, so that it was the 10th of February before she arrived at Amsterdam ; and their majesties went to the Hague the 9th of March, where they continued till the 4th of April.

A report was spread that the circular troops of the empire were forming an army upon Grander Heyde, near Hamburg, with an intention to dislodge our troops in Mecklenburgh ; upon which our army took the field, and encamped at Gadebush, under the command of Lieutenant-

1717.

general Lacy, major-general Slippenbach, and bregadier-general Le Fort; general Weyde was then indisposed at Guts-trow, and sent me to Grander Heyde to learn what number of troops were encamped there; when I came I could neither see nor hear of any troops being assembled at that place: I then proceeded to our resident in Hamburg, to obtain intelligence, but instead of hearing of any circular troops forming against us, it was currently reported there, that the Russian army were going to make an irruption into the electorate of Hanover; which false report so much alarmed the Hanoverians, that many of the people of property moved off their effects, to secure them in Hamburg, and other places of safety: all this being occasioned by our forming a camp at Gadebush, so that we were alarmed on both sides without the smallest foundation. Upon my return to Guts-trow, and reporting what had past, I was immediately dis-patched to our camp, with orders for our army to break up and return to their quarters. This false alarm being over soon settled people's minds again; but the poor subjects of Mecklenburgh, were daily more and more harassed by our troops, at the despotic commands of their unrelenting prince, which occasioned many petitions from the ladies of the nobility and gentry, to the duchess, to commiserate their de-plorable situation, and intercede for their relief. She really pitied their miserable condition, but could not prevail with the duke to shew them the smallest favour; on which she de-termined to send an express to the czar, to plead in behalf of the distressed people, and to lay before him several griev-ances of her own: but as she could send none of her own domestics without the duke's knowlege, she therefore sent

BOOK IV. Mr. Bestuzof, then gentleman of her bed-chamber (afterwards great chancellor of Russia), to general Weyde, desiring the general to send an express, in his own name, to the czar: upon this the general sent me with Mr. Bestuzof to Schwerin, to receive the duchess's commands, and to get into the duchess's apartment unknown to the duke, who was of a very suspicious temper. We went by a back door through the garden, and on entering the house, he was the first person we met, which put us into some confusion; we made him a low bow, and past without his speaking a word, or taking any notice of us; but instead of going directly to the duchess as we had proposed, Mr. Bestuzof conducted me to his own apartments, where I remained till it was dark, when I was introduced to the duchess who gave me my instructions, with which I returned the same night to Guts-trow. The general having by this time prepared his dispatches, I set out next day on my way to Holland, and arrived at Amsterdam the 8th of May; but the czar being gone from thence to Paris, I waited upon the czarina, who ordered me to follow his majesty; and having received her packet, I set out the next day and got to Paris the 13th, six days after his majesty's arrival. The reception and honours paid the czar at Paris are so well known, that it would be tedious to repeat them; I shall only therefore just mention that it was now the duke of Orleans (regent of France) obtained a promise from him to withdraw his troops from the German dominions.

Having received his majesty's dispatches for Amsterdam, on the 3d of June, I set out and arrived there the 9th; and receiving her majesty's commands, I set out thence the

next day and got to Schwerin the 16th, where I delivered BOOK V. both their majesty's dispatches into the duchess's own hands. The contents of what I brought were so very acceptable, that I met with a very gracious reception, and had a handsome present made me; and, to prevent discovery, I left Schwerin privately in the night time, and set off for Gustrow. The czar's dispatch to general Weyde, brought him orders to levy no more contributions on the inhabitants of that country.

The duke was so much dissatisfied with this new order, <sup>The distress
of his people.</sup> that he employed his own troops to exact contributions from them, with greater rigour than ever, which reduced his nobility to the necessity of selling their plate and jewels, and at last their equipages and furniture, and became so entirely ruined, that they were obliged to fly their country; and their boors for the most part, went into the Prussian territories, where they offered themselves, with their wives and children, for vassals or slaves. At the desire of some of my friends, I engaged a number of these poor families for their behoof, and that with the consent of their late owners who told me that they had no farther use for them, being reduced to so low a state that they were left without the means to cultivate and sow their lands for want of cattle and seed; so that their misery and calamity were past description, which made the princes of the empire interest themselves earnestly in their behalf, in an application to the czar to withdraw his troops from thence, which was soon after complied with, and the affair at last ended in the utter ruin of the duke himself, for his country was put under

BOOK V. sequestration, and he was obliged to live several years an exile at Dantzig.

1717. When we set out on our expedition to Denmark, the czarowits had his father's express orders to attend him; he rather chose to absent himself than obey, and absconded without the knowledge of any body: messengers were sent all over Europe in quest of him, and he was at length discovered at Naples, by captain Romantzof of the guards. The captain acquainted count Tolstoi, our ambassador at Vienna, with the discovery, and the count went to him at Naples, and persuaded and prevailed with him to return to Moscow, and submit himself to his father's clemency, assuring him that no prince in Europe would risque the czar's resentment by protecting him.

The captain refused leave to quit the Russian service.

My friends at Berlin had by this time procured me a company in general Gerodorf's regiment of the Prussian army, if I could procure my discharge from the Russian service; and as I had a company in their artillery under general Bruce, and was aid-de-camp to general Weyde, I applied to them both, and to prince Menzikof for my discharge, but could by no means obtain it; so I was obliged to continue in the Muscovite service, very much against my inclination, nor could I think of quitting it without my discharge, knowing I could not be admitted into the Prussian service without it.

The latter end of June, we received orders from the czar to march out of Mecklenburgh, after nine months free quarters, leaving four battalions there for the duke's service, at his desire; and we began to march the first of July. By those

those and 4000 of his own troops, he thought to prevent the BOOK V. circular troops from entering his territories. Our army were no sooner gone, than he got intelligence that a body of Hanoverians were on their march to enter into his territories, upon which he ordered general Schwerin, with his own and the Russian troops, to secure the pass which was at a mill-dam, by which the Hanoverians were to enter; there the Duke's forces entrenched themselves with several pieces of cannon. The Hanoverians advancing, endeavoured to force their way, and a very bloody rencontre ensued, in which a number were killed and wounded on both sides, and the Hanoverians obliged to retire: but upon a complaint being made to the czar, that his troops had been the aggressors, he ordered them to leave Mecklenburgh and join our army; the duke's troops soon followed and were retained in the czar's service, and the duke himself retired to Dantzig.

On the 13th of July, our army assembled at new Brandenburg, and we marched through Stettin and Landsberg, to Polish Schwerin, where we arrived the 25th; and as we were now in the dominions of Poland, we rested till the 7th of August, and then marched by Friedland to Tuchol the 1st of September, where we were to remain till farther orders.

The czar left Paris the 21th of July, and travelled by the The czar's
return from
Paris. way of Soiffons, Charleville, Namur, Huy, and Liege, taking a minute view of all the fortifications in his way, but more particularly at Namur, where the governor shewed his majesty a most respectful attention during his stay; he arrived at Spa the 28th, where he stopt to drink the waters, and went the 2d of August for Amsterdam, in which city the

BOOK V. the czarina had impatiently waited his return. After a month's stay at Amsterdam, in which time he had several private conferences with baron Gortz, minister to the duke of Holstein, at Loo, (a palace belonging to the prince of Orange), the czar set out the 2d of September on his way to Berlin, and arrived there the 19th; and the czarina in three days after, being met at some distance from the city by the queen of Prussia, and the margravine of Brandenburg, who conducted her into Berlin; where the duke and duchess of Mecklenburgh came to pay them a visit.

The return of his army to Peterburgh. Their majesties continued here but three days, and then took the route for Dantzig, where they arrived the 15th of September, and where general Weyde waited on the czar to receive his commands. His majesty set out on his journey for Peterburgh, and we returned to Tuchol the first of October. Mr. Gruzinsky, a commissary appointed by the king of Poland, attended us through Poland, till we arrived in the Russian territories. We began our march on the 2d of October, by Warsaw, Wilda, (the capital of Lithuania), Riga, and Narva, passing many rivers in our way, such as the Vistula, or Weixel twice, twice over the Weper; and over the Zaas, Memel, Wilda, Swenta, Dwina, and Narva; as we were in no hurry, resting in good quarters, four days in every week, and plentifully supplied with provisions, we spent seven months most agreeably on this march, and arrived at Peterburgh the 19th of February; the distance from Gustrow, our head quarters in Mecklenburgh, to Peterburgh, is 1,959 Russian wersts, or 1,306 English miles. The Polish commissary, Gruzinsky, was handsomely rewarded, by the czar, for providing so plentifully for the troops.

The czar having arrived at Petersburgh on the 21st of ^{BOOK V.} October, after an absence of sixteen months, a multiplicity —————— of affairs of great importance waited his return. Great charges were exhibited against those who had been entrusted with the reins of government in his absence : in order to examine into the accusation against the parties concerned he attended the senate every morning at four o'clock ; but finding it would require much time to judge those who were accused, he erected an extraordinary court of justice, to enquire into these matters. Wolchonsky, the governor of Archangel, and many others being capitally convicted, suffered death ; many more were knouted and sent into banishment.

^{1717.}
Disorders in
his absence,
redressed.

Various attempts had been made by the czar's orders and directions, with ships from Archangel, to discover a north passage to the East Indies ; but that was found impracticable, by reason of the many large shoals of ice, like islands, floating upon those seas. Before the czar set out for Germany, he sent a gentleman who understood the mathematics, as his envoy, with presents to several of the northern Tartar princes, to discover if there was a continuation of the sea to China, by the north of Tartary. This gentleman being returned, reported that he met a very friendly reception, and great civility from many of the Tartarian princes, who escorted him for his safety from one to another, till he came within the 70th degree of north latitude, to a province called Iakuti, on the river Lena, which empties itself into the Frozen Sea at 80 degrees, near an island, called Tazata, the prince of that country would neither accept his presents, nor suffer him to proceed down the river,

An attempt
to discover a
north passage
to India.

but.

BOOK V. but threatened if he did not return from whence he came,

1717. he would give orders to cut him and his men to pieces ; this put an end to his farther progress and discoveries, and he was obliged to return. He made a very accurate map of the several Taitar kingdoms through which he passed, with a particular description of the countries and the inhabitants, much more than was before known of those wild parts ; which map, &c. he presented to the czar. He reported, that they were all vagabond Tartars, living in tents, and shifting their residence from place to place for pasturage, as all their riches consisted in herds of cattle ; but he observed a sort of houses, or huts, on the sides of rivers, and some corn, and in these situations their chams generally resided. But while the northern Tartars remain so savage, it will be impossible to make a full discovery of those parts.

The fatal ex-
pedition of
prince Becke-
witz.

About this time his majesty received a very disagreeable account of the issue of an attempt that was made on the east side of the Caspian sea, towards Usbeck Tartary. The czar having been informed, that great quantities of gold sand came down the river Daria, he sent prince Alexander Beckewitz, at the head of 3000 men, to land at the mouth of that river, and build a fort there ; and then to proceed farther up the country to discover the mines from which this gold sand came ; the prince accordingly built a fort without the smallest opposition, although the Usbeck Tartars were upon the very spot ; but, instead of hindering, they gave him every assistance in their power, providing the troops with all kinds of provisions, and maintained a most friendly intercourse with each other. The fort being finished, the prince wanted to proceed up the river to discover the mines, which

which the Tartars observing, told him, if he proposed to follow the course of the river, he would find it unsurmountable, by its many turnings and windings ; and if he wanted only to come to the mines, there was a much nearer way by land, which they could march in three days, and that they were ready to conduct them. The prince, trusting to their seeming friendship, and having no reason to fear their inconsiderable number, left a captain with 200 men to garrison the fort and secure the ships ; set out through a desert with his Tartarian guides, and having marched seven days, instead of three, they were in the utmost distress for water ; and, at length, after abundance of fatigue, they arrived at the mines, but found there, before them, the chām of Ulbeck with 50,000 of his Tartars, who now, with every appearance of friendship, offered prince Beckewitz all the assistance in his power ; assuring him, since he understood that the prince was to erect a fort there, he would give orders to his people to provide materials for the building ; and offered to canton the army in the kibbits, or tents, with his own men, as they had suffered so much on their march through the desert for want of water, and might now be distressed for provisions, with which he also offered to supply them till they could be otherways provided : the chām all the while entertaining the prince, and all his officers, with so much seeming friendly familiarity, that they thought themselves extremely happy. When the prince proposed cantoning the men among the Tartars, all his officers to a man protested against it, alledging, the Tartars ought not to be trusted ; for so long as they kept themselves together in a body, they had nothing to fear from the Tartars, notwithstanding

BOOK V. notwithstanding their numbers ; but as soon as they separated
^{1717.} themselves, they would run the risque of being every one massacred.

The Tartar cham observing that they were not inclined to trust him, said to the prince and his officers, that they had no reason to mistrust his kindness, as it entirely proceeded from his regard to the czar, their master, whom he knew to be engaged in great wars in Europe, which could not be carried on without gold ; and for that reason, he freely gave them liberty to take as much of it as they pleased ; for his own part, he neither valued gold nor silver, as it was of no use in their country, for they lived without that, or even bread, consequently had no use for either ; their whole riches consisting in herds of cattle, which, with their tents, they could remove at pleasure ; and, consequently, could not fear having either castles, towns, or villages, rifled or taken from them ; for they lived here one day, and elsewhere the next. As to his offer to quarter their men amongst his people, it was made with a kind intention, and to provide for them till the arrival of their own stores from their ships, which could not be long, as he had sent a party of his men with camels to hasten them forward.

The general, at length, by these insinuations, against the advice of all his officers, was prevailed upon to quarter his army amongst the Tartars ; while this was doing, the cham was entertaining the prince, and his principal officers, in his own tent, till late in the night, when, in the height of their merriment, a Tartar entered and told the cham, his orders were executed ; on which the cham put on a stern countenance, ordered all the officers to be disarmed and

and bound, which was instantly done; he then told the prince that all his troops were massacred, and that since he had presumed to enter into his territories, and taken possession without his leave, he, and his officers were to be put to death: the officers were that instant dispatched before his face, and prince Beckewitz was ordered to kneel down on a piece of red cloth, spread on the ground for that purpose, to meet his fate; but the prince began to upbraid the chām with his treachery, and assured him, that the czar would resent it in the most ample manner; he was immediately cut on the legs with their scymetars till he fell, and then they inhumanly cut him in pieces. At the same time, the party that had been sent to the fort for provisions, surprised and massacred the whole garrison that was left there, and then destroyed the fort and burnt the ships, leaving not the least appearance that any thing of that kind had ever been there.

This disaster occasioned various conjecture and speculation all over Russia, as not the least accounts had been received either of the men or ships, till at last it was concluded they must have all perished in the Caspian sea. The whole of this affair was discovered to the czar by an officer, a German by birth, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Pultowa, in the Swedish service, and went on this expedition as a captain and aid-de-camp to the general, and was an eye-witness to the whole transaction, from first to last; he was preserved in the general massacre by his host, in order to sell him; but as he had not been used to hard work, he was often sold from one master to another, till at last he fell into the hands of an Armenian merchant, who had a correspondence with other Armenians

BOOK V. at Astrachan : he discovered himself to this merchant, who,

^{1717.} on having security for the money he cost, gave him his liberty ; by which means we got this information, otherwise it might have remained a secret for ever.

Prince Alexander Beckewitz was the only son of prince Archilla, of Iveria and Mongrelia, who fell in disgrace with the Persian sovereign for refusing to resign his wife to him (mother to this prince), a most beautiful woman ; this obliged the prince to fly his country, and put himself under the protection of the czar. He dying soon after, left his only son, prince Alexander, all the immense treasure he had brought with him. This prince married a princess of the house of Galitzin, the greatest beauty in all Russia ; this lady, intending to go to her husband, was unfortunately drowned in the Wolga, on her way to Astrachan.

A new regulation at Peterburgh, and a silk manufactory at Moscow.

The czar, finding the abuses in the management of his revenue arose chiefly from the confused method of his courts, he now modelled them on a new plan, formed on his own observations at Paris. The first was the senate ; the second for foreign affairs ; the third for finance ; the fourth for justice ; the fifth for revision ; the sixth for war ; the seventh for marine ; the eighth for commerce ; the ninth for receipts and expenditure ; and the tenth for arts, sciences, mines, buildings, &c. At the same time, he erected a silk manufactory at Moscow, having engaged a number of silk-weavers at Paris, and being sufficiently supplied with raw silk from the province of Gilan, on the south coast of the Caspian sea, which is esteemed the best in Persia, and is brought across that sea to Astrachan, from thence up the rivers Wolga and Ocka to Moscow.

BOOK

BOOK VI.

Return of the czarowitz to Moscow, and his exclusion from the succession.—His accomplices.—The princess Mary concerned in it.—The trial of the czarowitz at Petersburgh.—His death and character.—The Swedish field-marshall Rheinsfield's return home.—Negotiation at Aland, for peace with Sweden, renewed.—King of Sweden's death.—The death of baron Gortz.—The fijal's information against the grandees for misdemeanours, and their trial.—Prince Gagaren's unaccountable behaviour.—More of the czarowitz's confederates.—Death of prince Peter Petrovitz.—Prince Peter Alexowitz made a fijal, taught his exercise, and made ensign.—Negotiations for peace renewed, but fruitless.—The czar resolves to command it.—Memorable descent on Sweden.—The British fleet came too late.—The czar disgusted with Britain.—The Jesuits banished.—The czar seized with a fit at Revel.—General Weyde's illness, and the czar's concern for him.—Affairs of Sweden.—Marshal Weyde's death.—Ill treatment of his family.—His funeral.—The czar reproves Menzikof.—Captain Bruce's ineffectual attempt to quit the Russian service.—The new king of Sweden notifies his accession.—A second invasion.—The Swedes attack our fleet with loss.—The czar receives the duke of Holstein into his protection.—Court martial on lieutenant colonel Graves.—A curious law-suit between two brothers at Revel.—Fresh preparations against Sweden.—Proposals on their part for a cessation of hostilities, rejected.—A third descent on Sweden, which obliged them to sign the preliminaries, and conclude the peace.—The fleet and army in a storm, and a child remarkably preserved.—The fleet arrive at Petersburgh.—The czar honoured by his senate with the title of Peter the Great, &c.—A wise reformation in the business of the law.—The captain again refused leave to quit.—Triumphal entry into Moscow.—A proclamation and oath regarding the succession.

HI S majesty set out for Moscow on the 3d of Fe- BOOK VI.
bruary, having received intelligence that count Tol-
stoi was on his way thither from Naples, with the czarowitz; ^{1717.} Return of the
where they arrived the 11th. A grand council was held at czarowitz
to Moscow,
Moscow.

BOOK VI. Moscow on this occasion, consisting of the great men of the empire; the czar being determined to exert, in a most solemn manner, his justice on the prince for his disobedience. The council being met, the czarowitz was brought into the hall as a prisoner before them: at his entering he presented a writing to his majesty, containing a confession of his crime. The czar demanded of him what was his desire: the prince implored his mercy and begged he would save his life; his majesty granted his request, on condition he made a full discovery of all his accomplices, and renounce all his claim and title to the succession, under his hand; upon this the prince signed an instrument setting forth that, finding himself not qualified for government, he disclaimed all right of succession to the crown; and afterwards confirmed it upon oath, acknowledging his brother Peter, lawful heir to the crown. This being done, all the ministers and great men present, took the oaths, excluding prince Alexis from the crown, and acknowledging prince Peter to be the undoubted successor to it, engaging to stand by him with their lives, against all that should dare oppose him; and that they never would, under any pretence whatever, adhere to prince Alexis, or assist him in the recovery of the said succession. The same oath was afterwards administered to the army and navy at home and abroad, and to every subject of the Russian empire. Nevertheless the prince was still kept under confinement, and nobody admitted to him, except count Tolstoi, and such others as were appointed by the czar.

His accomplices.

This being over, the prince's accomplices were secured; in which number were his mother, formerly czarina, now abbess of the monastery of Susdale, and her gallant, the boyar

Glebof,

Glebof, who not only had lived a lewd life with the mother, BOOK VI.
but was a principal agent in the conspiracy, between her
and her son, the czarowitz ; the letters they had written to
each other were published, and were both treasonable and
scandalous. Next the boyar Abraham Lupochin, brother
to the late czarina, and uncle to the prince ; Alexander
Kikin, first commissioner of the admiralty, formerly a very
great favourite with the czar ; the bishop of Rostof, and
Pustinoi the late czarina's confessor and treasurer, were all
tried and sentenced. Glebof was impaled alive, and the
other four were broke alive on the wheel. A high square
wall was built before the Castle gate for that purpose : the
impaled corpse of Glebof was placed in the middle, and the
heads of the other four, were each on a long pole, set up
at the corners. Several others suffered death at the same
time, among whom fifty priests and monks, late compa-
nions to the czarowitz, who had led him into all manner
of debauchery, were all beheaded on one block, which was
a tree provided for the purpose of holding them all at once.

In this conspiracy, the princess Mary, half-sister to the czar, was also concerned ; she was afterwards confined in a The princess Mary concerned in it, monastery near to lake Ladoga ; and the late czarina Ottakesa Lupochin, was confined in the fortress of Slutelburgh, upon an island in that lake. All the czarowitz's domestics, and his mistress Euphrosina, were taken up ; as was also prince Wasilia Dolgoruky, lieutenant-general and colonel of the guards, knight of the order of the elephant, and director-general for enquiring into the mismanagements of the czar's revenues ; in which post he had behaved with the utmost insolence to prince Menzikof, admiral Apraxin, and :

BOOK VI. and several others. He was banished to Casan for life : the
Siberian czarowitz, and the senators Woinof, Worof, and
^{1717.} John Kikin, brother to Alexander Kikin, were also banished ; but the senators count Peter Apraxin, brother to the admiral, and count Samarin were acquitted. One of the czar's pages and several nuns suffered severe corporal punishment, and were, with most of the czarowitz's domestics, sent into banishment ; but Euphrosina making it appear that it was by her persuasion the prince returned, and that after her first lying in, having conformed with the Russian faith, she was actually married to the prince, when they were on their journey, by a Grecian priest, who was seized at Leipzig and brought prisoner to Moscow ; she was not only set at liberty, but had several of the czarowitz's jewels restored to her, and a handsome fortune appointed for her support, out of the treasury. She could never be prevailed upon to marry : she was but of mean extraction and a captive of Finland.

When this grand inquisition at Moscow was finished, his majesty set out from thence, and arrived at Petersburgh the 4th of April, and the czarowitz, arriving two days after, was confined in the fortress. The czar was no sooner come to Petersburgh than he went to the dock, and ordered the men of war that were ready, to be launched, and to get his fleet equipped with all expedition, to endeavour to prevent Britain and Holland from compelling the king of Sweden to a separate peace with the former.

About the latter end of May the first conference was held at Aland, whither it was transferred from Abo at the desire of baron Gortz, as it was much nearer Stockholm, and therefore more convenient for the dispatch of business. The pleni-

plenipotentiaries from the czar, at this congress, were count BOOK VI.
1718.
Bruce, grand-master of the ordnance, and baron Osterman,
a privy-counsellor; and from the king of Sweden, baron
Gortz and count Gullenburg. None of the foreign ministers
were admitted to these conferences but baron Mardefelt,
envoy from the king of Prussia.

From the numerous executions and punishments after
the inquisition at Moscow, every body believed that business
at an end; but from the fresh discoveries made every day, it
appeared, the prince had not been genuine in his confession
of all his confederates in the conspiracy; and the accom-
plices appearing so numerous, and the plot so deep laid,
the czar found it absolutely necessary to bring the prince
to a formal trial. For this purpose he summoned all the
nobility and clergy, the principal officers of the army and
navy, the governors of provinces, and many others of dif-
ferent ranks and degrees, to attend at the senate-house, to
examine and try the said prince. The trial was begun the
25th of June (the particulars of which have been so fully
related by others, that I thought a repetition of it needless),
and continued to the 6th of July, when this supreme court,
with unanimous consent, passed sentence of death upon the
prince, but left the manner of it to his majesty's determina-
tion: the prince was brought before the court, his sentence
was read to him, and he was re-conveyed to his prison in
the fortress.

On the next day, his majesty, attended by all the senators His death
and charac-
ter,
and bishops, with several others of high rank, went to the
fort, and entered the apartments where the czarowitz was
kept prisoner. Some little time thereafter marshal Weyde

BOOK VI. came out, and ordered me to go to Mr. Bear's the druggist,
— whose shop was hard by, and tell him to make the potion
^{1718.} strong which he had bespoke, as the prince was then very ill: when I delivered this message to Mr. Bear, he turned quite pale, and fell a shaking and trembling, and appeared in the utmost confusion, which surprised me so much, that I asked him what was the matter with him, but he was unable to return me any answer; in the mean time the marshal himself came in, much in the same condition with the druggist, saying, he ought to have been more expeditious, as the prince was very ill of an apoplectic fit; upon this the druggist delivered him a silver cup with a cover, which the marshal himself carried into the prince's apartments, staggering all the way as he went, like one drunk. About half an hour after, the czar with all his attendants withdrew with very dismal countenances, and when they went, the marshal ordered me to attend at the prince's apartment, and in case of any alteration, to inform him immediately thereof: there were at that time two physicians and two surgeons in waiting, with whom, and the officer on guard, I dined on what had been dressed for the prince's dinner. The physicians were called in immediately after to attend the prince, who was struggling out of one convulsion into another, and, after great agonies, expired at five o'clock in the afternoon. I went directly to inform the marshal, and he went that moment to acquaint his majesty, who ordered the corpse to be imbowelled; after which it was laid in a coffin, covered with black velvet, and a pall of rich gold tissue spread over it; it was then carried out of the fort, to the church of the Holy Trinity, where the corpse lay in state

slate till the 11th in the evening, when it was carried back BOOK VI.
to the fort, and deposited in the royal burying-vault, next
the coffin of the princess his late consort; on which occa-
sion, the czar and czarina, and the chief of the nobility,
followed in procession. Various were the reports that were
spread concerning his death: it was given out publicly,
that on hearing his sentence of death pronounced, the dread
thereof threw him into an apoplectic fit, of which he died;
very few believed he died a natural death, but it was dan-
gerous for people to speak as they thought. The ministers
of the emperor, and the states of Holland, were forbid the
court for speaking their minds too freely on this occasion,
and upon complaint against them were both recalled.

Thus died prince Alexis, undoubted heir to that great
monarchy; little regretted by people of rank, as he always
shunned their acquaintance and company. It was said, the
czar had taken uncommon pains in the education of this
prince, but all in vain; indolent and slovenly by nature, he
kept the lowest of company, with whom he indulged himself
in all manner of vice and debauchery. His father, to put
a stop to this, sent him abroad to see foreign courts, thinking
thereby to reclaim him, but all to no purpose; on which he
ordered him to attend him in all his expeditions, thereby to
have a watchful eye over him himself; but the prince evaded
this, by continually pretending to be sick, which might prob-
ably be the case, as he was most part of his time drunk.
The czar, at last, thought to reclaim him by marrying him
to some foreign princess; what effect that had has been al-
ready mentioned. After the death of his amiable princess,
his majesty ordered him to attend him in his expedition to

BOOK VI. Germany ; and being on his journey, under pretence of going to join him in Mecklenburg, he fled privately, and sought 1713. the protection of his brother-in-law, the emperor of Germany, whom he endeavoured to engage in a war against his father.

It was made appear on his trial, that he threatened whenever he came to the throne, to overturn all his father had done, declaring, that he then would be revenged on prince Menzikof, and his sister-in-law, by impaling them alive, as also the great chancellor count Golokkin, and his son, for persuading him to marry the princess Wolfsenbuttel ; that he would send all his father's favourites into banishment, and expel all foreigners out of the country ; that he would release his mother out of confinement, and put dame Catherine, and her children, in her place ; after this, he would form his court of people who had the ancient manners and customs of Russia most at heart, for he hated all innovations. Nothing could have touched the czar more sensibly than threatening to overthrow all he had been doing for so many years for the welfare and glory of his country, with so much danger, toil, and labour, without ever sparing his own person ; which made him say, with great emotion, that he would rather give his dominions to a worthy stranger, than be succeeded by so worthless a son : at the time of this expression, he had no other son but the czarowitz, which shewed plainly, he had the good of his country more at heart than the succession in his own family.

The Swedish field-marshal Reinshield's return home. Count Reinshield, the Swedish field marshal, who had been a prisoner at Casan since the battle of Pultowa, arrived at Pittsburgh with twenty officers, to be exchanged for the

two Russian generals, knez Trubetzkoi and count Gollowin, BOOK VI.

who had both been prisoners at Stockholm since the battle

1718.

of Narva. Count Reinshield was very graciously received

by the czar, who recommended him to the particular care

of field-marshal Weyde ; he was daily invited by one grandee

or other, where the czar always made one of the party ; and

on these occasions conversed very familiarly with the count,

telling him, one day, that he desired nothing so much as

to be personally acquainted with his brother king Charles,

which he hoped would soon happen by concluding a lasting

peace to both their satisfactions ; and that he hoped to have

a personal interview with him, where matters might be con-

cferred between themselves without many witnesses. Count

Reinshield being detained much longer than he expected,

was afraid that the king, his master, would not consent to

the exchange, which made him so uneasy, that he complained

thereof to our marshal ; who assured him, that if the king

of Sweden should refuse the exchange, he should not be de-

tained, for the czar would let him go on his parole ; but,

in a few days after, I was sent at midnight with the agree-

able news that he was to sail in the morning for Stockholm,

as a yacht lay ready to take him and his officers on board.

When I came the marshal was asleep, but I communicated

the good news to his officers, who received it with so much

joy, that, by their noise, they awaked the count ; and, on

his enquiring what the matter was, I stepped up to his bed-

side and delivered my message, which so agreeably surprised

him, that he got up and embraced me, saying, If ever I

went to Sweden he would make me a suitable return for the

good news I brought him, as he had nothing then to re-

ward !

BOOK VI. ward me with, according to his wish. I staid with him till
1715. day-light, and then went on board the yacht with him.
 About eleven o'clock the czar, attended by marshal Weyde,
 came on board to take his leave of the count, and presented
 him with a sword from his own side, which was enriched with
 diamonds wishing him a good voyage to Stockholm.

Negotiation
at Aland for
peace with
Sweden re-
newed.

Baron Gortz being returned from the king of Sweden with his final resolution, the conference at Aland, between our ministers and those of Sweden, were continued. The czar set out from Cronslot with his fleet, in the month of August, for Revel, and from thence he went to Abo to be near the place of conference; where it was agreed, that the czar should give up Finland, and part of Carelia, to the king of Sweden; and he should have in lieu thereof Wyburgh, part of Carelia, all Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia; and the czar was besides to assist the Swedes to recover Swedish Pomerania, and Bremen and Verden; and to reinstate the duke of Holstein in his dukedom, as also to persuade the duke of Mecklenburgh to resign his dukedom to Sweden for ever; for which he was to have an equivalent elsewhere (supposed to be Courland); and to replace Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, according to the agreement made with king Augustus at Alt Ranstadt; and if Great Britain interfered in retaking Bremen and Verden, that they would, with their joint fleets and forces, make a descent on Britain with the pretender, and place him on the throne.

Upon this, it was agreed, that baron Gortz should once more return to the king of Sweden with these proposals: for which purpose he set off the end of September, in full expectation of prevailing with the king to come into them.

In

In the mean time, nothing was done to disturb the king of Sweden in his expedition against Norway, as the czar returned with his fleet to Cronslot, and arrived at Petersburgh the 15th of September, where he found the czarina delivered of a princess, whom he named Natalia. His majesty ordered the fleet to be laid up at Cronslot, so that every body considered the peace with Sweden at no great distance : these hopes, however, were soon blasted by the death of the king of Sweden, which happened in the night between the 29th and 30th of November, being shot through the head before Frederickshal in Norway, and it was generally believed to have been done by one of his own people. Field marshal Reinshield being then in the trenches, and going to wait on the king, found him kneeling on the banquet, with his head on the parapet inclining to one side ; the marshal thinking he was asleep, endeavoured to waken him, but found him cold and dead.

King of Sweden's death.

Baron Gortz was arrested in his way to Frederickshal to wait on the king, and soon after beheaded, and his corpse buried under the gallows ; several persons in the confidence of Gortz, were arrested, and an officer was dispatched to Aland to seize on secretary Stamble and all his papers, by whom we were apprised of the king of Sweden's death, and that his sister, the princess Ulrica, had been proclaimed queen. Secretary Stamble went to Petersburgh, where he remained under the czar's protection, and afterwards engaged himself in the Russian service. This sudden change overturned all advances towards peace, which then, to all appearance, only waited for signing.

The death of baron Gortz.

The.

BOOK VI. The fiscal-general, on the czar's return, gave information against several great men in the administration, for oppressing the subjects and defrauding his majesty of considerable sums of money. The czar directly established a tribunal to enquire into those matters ; and appointed marshal Weyde president of this court, saying, he was the only man he had never found faulty in any one thing, and joined with him as assistants, the lieutenant-generals Butterlin and Slippenbach, major-generals Galitzen and Jagusinsky, and the brigadier generals Wolkof and Mamonof. This tribunal was to examine into the mismanagement of such persons as the fiscal-general should lay before them, and to pronounce sentence on those who should be found guilty, as the nature of their crime deserved, without respect of persons. The first that was cited before this court was prince Menzikoff, who pleaded guilty to the charge laid against him, and having submitted to the sentence of the court, delivered up his sword, and went to his own house to remain in confinement till his majesty's pleasure was known ; the next were the great admiral Apraxin, and his brother, a senator and governor of Astracan, and director-general of the salt-works : being all three found guilty, they received sentence to be dismissed from their employments, and their estates to be confiscated to his majesty's use, and themselves to be sent into banishment : they were accordingly degraded, and their trials published in print. Prince Dolgoruky, paymaster-general, was next called upon, but he pleaded his own cause so well, that he was acquitted. Several others were tried and found guilty, and when every body expected their sentence would have been put in execution, the czar, in remembrance of their

their former merits and faithful services, restored them again BOOK VI.
to his favour, after their paying great sums into the treasury. —

Prince Gagarin, governor of Siberia, was next impeached 1718. Prince Gagarin's unaccountable behaviour.
by the fiscal-general, on a charge for having, by parties of Tartars, he kept for that purpose, way-laid and robbed his majesty's caravan coming from China, whereby several men of the detachment sent by the said prince to protect that caravan, had been killed, so that the crime was not only for plundering his majesty's caravan, but of destroying the lives of so many of his innocent subjects; by which unlawful and wicked means, he had accumulated immense riches. The proofs against him were so clear, that the court sent him prisoner to the fortress till his majesty's farther pleasure should be known: upon his commitment, the czar himself went to the fort, and examining, told him if he would make a fair confession to him how far he was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, upon the faith of his royal word, he would pardon him; upon this, the prince freely confessed his being guilty of the whole charge laid against him, and signed this confession in writing. The senate was ordered to meet next day; prince Gagarin's confession was produced, and read before the senate; and then his majesty told them, that he had fully pardoned the prince on his making the said confession; and that he had convened them on purpose to shew them that he inclined more to lenity than severity, by which he hoped to reform those who had been hitherto remiss in their duty. Prince Gagarin being then brought from the fort into the senate, his confession in writing, and signed by himself, was publicly read before him; and being asked if he now acknowled-

BOOK VI. ledged the same before the senate, he said that he was innocent of the crime laid to his charge ; but the czar had frightened him so much, that he forced him to write and sign that confession against his will. This declaration confounded the czar so much, that he remained some time silent, and the whole senators looked amazed : at last the czar said, that although the prince laid so notorious a falsehood to his charge, and presumed so much on his own innocence, he should nevertheless have fair play for his life ; and then ordered the witnesses against him to be produced : at the head of whom appeared his own secretary, who proved undeniable facts against him. The prince, not knowing till then that his secretary was an informer against him, was so much confounded, that he fell down on his knees, and said, he had been a hardened sinner, and deserved no mercy.

This unaccountable behaviour in prince Gagarin, after being fully pardoned, greatly surprised every body ; some thought him mad, others that he was ashamed to confess to the whole world so publicly, that he had been guilty of such atrocious crimes, who had always passed for a pious and godly man. He was charitable to a great degree, and the prisoners in Siberia lost a very good friend in him ; especially the Swedish officers, who could not enough extol his liberality to them. On his arrival at Petersburgh, he was very profuse with his presents, especially to the czarina, to whom he gave some not only curious, but valuable ; and it was owing to that lady's powerful intercession, that he was pardoned at all : but after such bare-faced insult to majesty itself, in full senate, no body durst presume to say one word in his behalf. The czar being exasperated to the

highest degree against prince Gagarin, ordered a gallows, BOOK VI. in imitation of Haman's, fifty cubits high, to be erected ————— before the senate house, on which he was hanged in presence of all the senators, to most of whom he was either related or allied. His sentence was to hang till he dropt in pieces from the gallows ; but to entice somebody to cut him down sooner, the prince put two bags with money, in each side pocket of his breeches : this was prevented by placing a strong guard every night, to watch the corpse, so that he actually hung till the money, with part of his limbs, fell down ; the money was shared among the soldiers, and the gallows, with the remainder of the corpse, was at last removed.

At this time there were several more of the late czarowitz's domestics, put to death ; as Pustinoi, his confessor ; Affona-sief, his master of the horse ; Woynof, his steward of the household ; Dubrofsky, a gentleman of his bedchamber, and four others of his servants : the first four were beheaded, and afterwards twisted on wheels ; the rest were knouted.

On the 15th of January, 1719, Mr. Jefferies, the British resident at the court of Sweden, arrived at Petersburgh from Stockholm ; but instead of bringing any proposals of accommodation, as was expected, he said he came to demand those of the Russian court. In the beginning of February, baron Osterman was sent from Aland to Petersburgh, for fresh instructions, and the conferences went on in the mean time, between the counts Bruce and Gullenburgh ; but in the month of April, baron Osterman was sent to Sweden, to declare, that unless they accepted in two months time, of the conditions formerly agreed on, they must expect a visit from forty thou-

BOOK VI. sand plenipotentiaries, who would force them to it, sword in hand.

^{1719:}
Death of
prince Peter
Petrovitz.

Prince Peter Petrovitz, his majesty's only surviving son, died on the 6th of May, in the fourth year of his age, to the great grief of his father : his corpse lay some time in state, and was carried, with great funeral pomp, to the church in the fortrefs, where it was deposited in the royal burying vault.

Prince Peter
Alexowitz
made ser-
jeant, taught
his exercise,
and made en-
sign.

After this, the great-duke, Peter Alexowitz, son of the late czarowitz, grandson to his majesty, was taken from under the care of his governess (who had educated his mother), and was made a serjeant in the guards, and masters were appointed to instruct him in all manner of sciences. I was ordered to attend him two hours in every day, to teach him the military exercise, gunnery, and fortification : a corporal with twenty-four men and a drum, mounted as his daily guard ; the duke exercised those men every morning himself, with his halbert in his hand, and took great delight in it ; after the excercise, he always fired three brass cannon, of one pound shot, which were placed before his door for his diversion. The czar came frequently to see him perform his exercises, and was vastly pleased with his sprightliness and attention ; and seeing some draughts and models of fortification laying on the table, he asked the young prince the use and advantage of each particular work, to which he gave his answers so readily, and with so much judgement, considering his years, that his grandfather was so well pleased, that he embraced him most heartily, and made him a present of his picture richly set with diamonds, and gave him an ensign's commission in the first regiment of

guards: and finding he had a genius far above his age, he ordered several artists, as ship builders, architects, &c. to wait upon him, and shew him their draughts, and explain them to him. It was very remarkable that he would not amuse himself with any kind of children's play, for when his sister, the great-duches, proposed to amuse him with play, he told her that it became one of her sex better than him, for he ought to employ his time in improving himself as became a prince. This sort of behaviour made him be admired by every body, and filled their minds with great expectations from him, as he was then the apparent heir to the crown of Russia.

The queen of Sweden at last named baron Liliensted, to supply the place of the late baron Gortz, at the congress of Aland; where he arrived in the month of June: but the death of the king of Sweden, whose ambition had given great umbrage to all his neighbours, had now wholly changed the dispositions of the princes of Europe towards that kingdom. The king of Great Britain sent lord Carteret, his ambassador, to Sweden, to conclude a treaty and an alliance with that crown; by which it was agreed that Bremen and Verden should remain with the king of Great Britain, for a million of crowns, and in case the war with Russia continued, Great Britain should pay Sweden three hundred thousand crowns a year, and act with her forces against the czar. A short time after this the Swedes made peace with the king of Prussia, on terms somewhat similar, for ceding to his majesty Stetin, and its districts; and at the same time the king of Poland had concluded a treaty with the emperor and his Britannic majesty.

Negotiations
for peace re-
newed, but
fruitless.

The

BOOK VI. The czar, now finding himself forsaken by all his allies,
1719.
^{1719.} The czar re-solves to com-mand it. was resolved to make a descent on Sweden, thereby to force them to a peace, ordered all his gallies and ships of war to be got ready, and embarked on board his fleet 40,000 men, under the command of Apraxin, his great admiral; with orders to waste and destroy the coasts of Sweden. The admiral held a council of war at the land of Capel, and shaped his course for the Dalder Isles, where he took several prisoners of note; he then went and ruined the chief copper-mines, and burnt the gods, and several noblemen's houses thereabouts: from thence he went to South Telle, where he landed fifty Cossacks on horseback, who advanced within a league of Stockholm, defeated an out-guard, and brought off a major and eight men prisoners. The 19th of July, the fleet arrived at Landsfort, having taken on their passage two ships laden with corn, bound to Stockholm; the gallies, in the mean while, were divided into three squadrons, one landed between north and south Talle, another on the coast of Geestle, and the third at Nikoping; several detachments of dragoons and Cossacks were landed at Sandmar, who burnt and destroyed all the country near to Stockholm. Our fleet, at the same time, arrived at the mouth of the river of Stockholm, where they took five barks laden with provisions; from thence they proceeded to the northward, where a number of towns and villages were destroyed, especially those near which the most considerable iron-mines of the kingdom lay; the destruction of which was an irreparable loss to Sweden. In short, the landing the Russian troops in so many different places of that kingdom, made it impossible for the Swedish army to prevent it: no sooner had

Memorable
descent on
Sweden.

had they destroyed one place of the country, than they immediately removed to another. According to the report of the damages sustained by these descents on the coasts of Sweden, they consisted in the destruction of eight towns, eleven palaces, one hundred and thirty noblemen and gentlemen's houses, one thousand three hundred and sixty-one villages, forty-three mills, twenty-six magazines, two copper-mines, fourteen iron-mines, besides all their corn and cattle; and all the inhabitants they met with, old and young, of both sexes, were taken and carried off in transports over to Finland, to the amount of sixty thousand and upwards, where they were detained till the conclusion of the peace. The Swedes, relying too much on the promised succours from their allies, would not come into the measures that had been agreed on between the czar and their late sovereign; the czar, therefore, now insisted on keeping all Carelia and Keckholm, over and above what he formerly demanded of Sweden: but these propositions were rejected with scorn, the congress of Aland broke up, and the ministers retired.

The English fleet, under admiral Norris, came before Stockholm the 21st of August, eight days after our fleet were retired into their different harbours. Soon after Mr. Berkeley arrived at Aland, with letters from lord Carteret and admiral sir John Norris, for his majesty, desiring a pass from count Bruce to Petersburgh; but the count being informed of the contents, refused to send the letters to the czar, nor would he give Mr. Berkeley a passport to Petersburg, but sent him back with an answer to lord Carteret, wherein he told him, that he found the contents of the letters they had sent to his majesty so singular, and so little-

The British
fleet came too
late.

con-

BOOK VI. consistent with the ties of alliance and friendship, that still

^{1719.}

subsisted between his czarish majesty and his Britannic majesty, that he could not prevail on himself to do what was desired of him, until he first received orders from the czar, his master ; besides, he was persuaded, his Britannic majesty would not fail to acquaint the czar with his thoughts or pretensions on a matter of so great importance, either by letter to himself, or by his minister at Peterburgh ; and therefore there was no occasion to use such extraordinary ways and means. Upon this answer, the sieurs Jefferies and Weber, the British and Hanoverian ministers, received orders to leave the court of Peterburgh, as did all British subjects to quit the Russian service ; on which the czar caused all the English merchants in his dominions to be put under arrest, threatening, if the British nation made war upon him, he would confiscate all their effects, which amounted to above fifty millions of rubles.

The czar
disgusted with
Britain.

The Jesuits
banished.

At this time the Jesuits, those pests of society, who had got footing in Russia, through the recommendation of the emperor, were now banished for intermeddling too much with state-affairs, and ordered to quit the Russian dominions within four days after having notice given them ; as the world was sufficiently apprised of their dangerous machinations, in troubling the political affairs of every country they are received into. The padres were now in great hurry and confusion, being obliged to set out immediately, leaving their rich chapel to the Capuchins, who were the only order of the Romish profession that were suffered to remain in Russia ; and they were tolerated for the sake of the Roman Catholics, who were numerous in the Russian army.

It

It came out on the late trial of prince Menzikof, that Mr. BOOK VI.
Wesaloffsky, his late secretary, had been principally concerned with the two Solowiofs, the prince's agents, in carrying on an illicit trade to the great detriment of the nation; the two Solowiofs suffered for their crime, and as Wesaloffsky was then envoy at the British court, he had orders to return home, and Mr. Bestuzof was appointed to succeed him at that court: but as Wesaloffski dreaded, not without reason, to be brought to an account for malpractices, thought proper, instead of returning, to write a letter to the emperor, in which he acknowledged his guilt, and that, to avoid his majesty's just resentment, he had changed his name, and was resolved to return no more to Russia, but to spend the remainder of his days in some remote and free part of the globe where he should never be heard of more. It was, however, generally believed, that he married and settled in England, and was afterwards naturalized there. Mr. Bestuzof had not long succeeded him, before he disengaged the court of London by a memorial, wherein he reflected on the ministry, for which he was ordered to depart the kingdom.

When his majesty went to survey the fortifications of Revel, in the month of September, I had orders to attend him: The czar feized with a fit at Revel. he proposed to make that one of the strongest places in Europe, and also for the equipment of his fleet. One day when he was surveying the fortifications, and giving orders about the additional works he thought necessary to be made, he was seized with a violent fit of the colic, which threatened his life, but the vigour of his constitution got the better of it. He soon after returned to Peterburgh, where he made

BOOK VI. great preparations for the ensuing campaign : by his orders

^{1719.}

I remained six weeks after he was gone, to draw the plans, and give the necessary directions for erecting the out-works. Notwithstanding the perpetual hurry of business his majesty was continually employed in, he did not neglect to solace himself every evening, when the fatigues of the day were over, with some diversion or other, especially assemblies, which were held every evening at the houses of people of rank, who held them by turns, at which meetings he conversed very familiarly with all ranks and degrees of people, which made those assemblies very much frequented.

General
Weyde's ill-
ness, and the rived from Olonitz, where he had been drinking the mineral
czar's con-
cern for him.

At my return to Petersburgh marshal Weyde was just arrived from Olonitz, where he had been drinking the mineral waters for his health, which, instead of being of service, had made him a great deal worse. His majesty interested himself so much in the marshal's recovery, that he went in person every day to see him, and gave strict charge to the physicians never to leave him, but to use their utmost skill for his preservation ; declaring, that if he died, he should lose the best general and the most faithful servant he had in his whole empire ; and now by much care and attention, the general recovered his health pretty well again.

The czar had made marshal Weyde a present some years ago of an estate in Livonia, of the value of twelve thousand rubles a year, by charter to him and his heirs whatsoever : he had only two daughters, the eldest was married to major-general Le Fort, nephew to the grand Le Fort, the czar's peculiar favourite ; and she, dying soon after, left only one daughter. The youngest, and then only daughter, being asked in marriage by Mr. Weber, the Hanoverian minister, was

was refused, on account of his belonging to a foreign court; BOOK VI. besides, his majesty did not approve of the match. Then 1720. Mr. Romanzof, adjutant-general to the czar, made his address, but that was not agreeable to the lady herself, as he was a Russian and of a different religion. The marshal, apprehending the czar would insist on that marriage, betrothed her, against her inclination, to lieutenant-general Bohn, a man she could neither love nor esteem, being of an age more like a father than a husband; the grief thereof threw the young lady into a lingering indisposition.

The czar being now informed, that the queen of Sweden had resigned the crown to her consort, the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, and that the regent of France had paid Sweden six hundred thousand crowns of arrears, with assurance, that the subsidies should be regularly paid in future; besides one million of crowns they got from Britain for Bremen and Verden, and the stipulated subsidy of three hundred thousand, while the war lasted with Russia; all this made the Swedes take fresh courage, and they gave the czar to understand he was not to expect peace, unless he gave up all the provinces he had conquered from them since the commencement of the war. On the other hand, the czar finding his enemy thus largely supplied with money, supported by an English fleet, favoured by the kings of Prussia and Denmark, and on the point of concluding a peace with Poland, while he himself was deserted by every ally, sent a numerous army into Finland, and endeavoured to make himself master of the Bothnick gulf by a large fleet.

Early in the spring 1720, admiral Norris arrived in the Sound with a British squadron; and sailing from thence, he

1720.

BOOK VI. joined the Swedish fleet before Stockholm ; and the 5th of
March, 1720. the palatine of Massovia arrived at Petersburgh as
ambassador from Poland, inviting the czar to enter into a
peace with Sweden, jointly with Poland ; but the czar had
already formed his resolutions to force Sweden to a separate
peace, and to convince the world, notwithstanding the power-
ful assistance afforded his enemy, while he stood by himself
alone, he had it still in his power to command his own terms
with the Swedes.

Marshal
Weyde's
death.

Marshal Weyde now lost his only daughter, who died the
day she was to have been married to general Bohn, of a
broken heart, at being obliged to marry so much against
her inclination : her affections had been engaged to Mr.
Weber, the Hanoverian minister. Her father took the loss
of his only child so much to heart, that he sickened again,
and died the 4th of June, very much regretted by both
their majesties, and by all ranks of people ; but more espe-
cially by the army, who adored him, notwithstanding his
strict discipline, for he had the art of making them obey
his orders with pleasure, by his affability in checking those
in private who transgressed against his orders : so that court-
martialls and punishments were rare during his command
of the army. Notwithstanding this lenity, the Russian
army was never under better discipline, or in finer order.
The marshal was born at Moscow, of German parents ;
had made several campaigns in his youth in Hungary, un-
der prince Eugene, and was employed by him as one of his
aid de camps, under whom he always confessed to have
learned the military art. He was made a prisoner of war in
the year 1700, at Narva, and detained at Stockholm till the
year

year 1710, when he was ransomed, and was appointed field-marshal, when count Zaremetof died after his march through Poland.

BOOK VI.

2720.

The marshal no sooner expired than lieutenant general Romantzof came to the house in his majesty's name, and sealed up every thing in the presence of general Le Fort and me, and then took an inventory of all the plate and furniture in the house, to the great surprize of the general, who was father to the marshal's grand daughter, the only undoubted heiress to his great fortune. Upon this general Le Fort desired to know, since all the money, to the amount of sixty thousand ducats, was sealed up, how his father-in-law was to be buried, as he had no cash to defray the charges. Romantzof then told him, that his majesty intended the marshal's corpse should have a splendid funeral, and that no cost should be spared, and then one of the chests was opened, and ten thousand rubles taken out, which were delivered to me, with orders to lay it out as I should be directed by general Le Fort, and when that was expended I might call for more; keeping an exact account of every thing that was laid out, which I was to deliver in with the proper receipts and vouchers, after the funeral ceremony was over.

This mal-treatment of Mr. Le Fort proceeded from a resentment in Romantzof, as he apprehended it was owing to Mr. Le Fort, that he did not succeed in his addresses to the marshal's daughter; and to mortify him still more effectually, he begged and obtained the marshal's estate of the czar, who refused him nothing, as he was then a rising favorite; and to satiate his revenge, lord Nerefkin, a near relation of the czar's, being just arrived from his travels, and wanting

BOOK VI. wanting a house, Mr. Romantzof advised him to purchase
 ————— the late marshal's, with all the furniture and plate, which
^{1720.} was done by appraisement, on an order from court; but no part of this estimated price was ever paid, and the heiress, then a child, had only the few jewels her grand-father left, and twelve thousand rubles for her portion: the remainder was generally believed to have been applied to Mr. Romantzof's own use. In this general plunder I suffered also; the marshal by his will, had left me two hundred ducats, his best suit of cloaths, and his best horse with the furniture; I received the money and cloaths, but the fine horse and furniture were brought to the czar's stable, and for which I was promised three hundred ducats, but never got any thing. This was chiefly owing to Mrs. Le Fort, the general's second wife, to whom he was married in Germany: as she had been very severe on Mr. Roniantzof's conduct, he resented it in part against me, as she was my near relation, although I was otherwise very much in his favour.

As this was the first instance of foreigners being used in so arbitrary and unjust a manner, it occasioned much speculation amongst all ranks of people, especially as it happened to a man of so great personal merit, and general esteem, besides to one who was nephew and heir to the grand Le Fort, and son-in-law to marshal Weyde, both great favourites of the czar; so that after this none could think themselves secure in their possessions. This unjust action gave me such an idea of Russia, that nothing after could induce me to settle amongst them, notwithstanding all their proffered advancements and advantages.

The marshal's corpse being embowelled and embalmed, lay ~~BOOK VI.~~ in state twelve days, in a coffin under a canopy, dressed in a — white embroidered suit of cloaths, in boots, with a full-bot^{1720.} His funeral. tomed wig, and the order of saint Andrew about his neck. Several ladies and gentlemen watched the corpse every night, which is the custom of the country. As there was nobody in the house belonging to the marshal, but his domestics, I superintended the whole. The last night being at supper with the company who were to watch, I took a fancy to frighten them, by removing the corpse into another room, and laying myself down in its place; accordingly, when the company were entered the room, and seated some time, I began to stir under the cover that was laid over me, on which the company took to their heels, and ran out of the house, nor did they return to ask what was the matter, but spread a most dreadful report of the vision they had seen. Next morning crouds came to enquire into the wonder of that night, but went away no wiser than they came: the report reached the czar's ears, who ordered my attendance, and demanded of me what the affair was. Without the least hesitation, I told how it had happened, before the czarina and the two princesses, which diverted them very much, but her majesty thought proper to give me a very severe reprimand.

The 16th of June, being appointed for the interment, it was attended with great pomp, and the procession was conducted in the following manner.

1. A battalion of the guards, the officers in black scarfs, and the drums covered with black.
2. A harbinger on horseback, in a mourning cloak.
3. A mar-

- BOOK VI.
3. A marshal with a staf, covered with black and white crape.
- ^{1720.} 4. A pair of kettle-drums, covered and carried by two men in black.
5. Four trumpets, four hautboys, and two bassoons, in pairs.
6. A white standard, with the deceased's coat of arms.
7. A gentleman on horseback, in complete armour, with a sword in his hand.
8. A black standard.
9. A horse in mourning, led by two men in black.
10. A master of the ceremonies.
11. A war-horse with complete furniture, led by two officers in their regimentals.
12. A helmet.
13. A cuirass.
14. A pair of gilt spurs.
15. A marshal's truncheon.
16. A sword.
17. The order of saint Andrew ; all these carried separately on velvet cushions, by officers.
18. Two officers with their swords pointed to the ground, followed by twenty-four halbardiers, in pairs.
19. The corpse of the marshal drawn by six horses, caparisoned with black cloth, each led by a groom in black, attended by three gentlemen on each side ; the canopy was supported by eight lieutenant-colonels, and eight colonels held up the tassels of the canopy ; the corners of the pall were supported by four brigadiers.
20. A marshal.
21. Miss

1720.

21. Miss Le Fort, grand-child to the deceased.
22. A colonel's lady (his niece.)
23. General Le Fort's lady ; both these ladies led by two gentlemen each.
24. A great number of ladies in pairs.
25. His majesty, attended by all the grandees and foreign ministers.
26. The officers of the army and navy.
27. The protestant ministers, merchants, and burghers.
28. Another battalion of the guards ; which closed the procession.

In this order, they went to the monastery of Alexander Newsky, at three miles distance ; minute guns were fired from the fort, all the while till the corpse was interred, and was concluded by three volleys from the two battalions of guards. His majesty, with the rest of the company, returned to the house of the deceased, where a grand entertainment was prepared for them. Every one of the company was presented with a mourning ring, of the value of two ducats, with the dates of the marshal's birth and death engraven thereon ; near seven hundred of these rings were given among the company.

At this meeting, a debate happened between prince Menzikof and prince Galitzin, abusing each other in a very unbecoming manner. The czar being in the next room, overheard them, and sent for Menzikof, and gave him a most severe rebuke, telling him he ought not to forgot himself, but consider he was only of yesterday, whereas prince Galitzin was of the ancient family of the Jagellons, princes of Lithuania, afterwards kings of Poland ; and ordered him to

BOOK VI. ask pardon of Galitzin before the whole company, which he was obliged to do. The two princes lived ever after in
^{1720.} enmity, but the family of Galitzin were too powerful to fear the resentment of Menzikof.

Captain Bruce's infatual attempt to quit aid-de-camp. The day after the funeral, Knez Repnin was declared field marshal, and sending for me, asked if I chose to be his aid-de-camp. I told him I had already served under two field marshals in that station, and as I had been so long in that employ, I hoped he would excuse me : he took my refusal so much ~~a viis~~, that he threatened to make me repent it. As I was now heartily tired of the Russian service, I thought this a favourable opportunity to ask my discharge, which I did next day, by presenting a memorial to the czar himself : his majesty asked me why I wished to leave his service ? I answered, that since marshal Repnin had threatened me, for refusing to serve him as aid-de-camp, it would be unsafe for me to remain any longer in the army. The czar replied, that I was not to be under the command of the marshal, and had nothing to apprehend from him. I could not then presume to insist farther on my discharge, for fear of sharing the fate of captain Dean, of the fleet, who was sent into banishment, for laying down his commission, upon a proclamation by king George the First, forbidding all British subjects to serve in Russia ; a copy of which proclamation was given captain Dean, by Mr. Jefferies, the British minister. The captain was released some time after, and returning to England, was sent consul to Ostend.

The czar having appointed me to be a captain in his own division, I got my company in the regiment of Astrachan, which was then at Revel, to which place I received orders

to

to repair directly, there to inspect and forward the additional book vi. works of the fortification, planned by his majesty last year. —————
On my arrival, the 24th of July, I found the works well advanced since I had left it. ^{1720.} I was now billeted on the house of a merchant in town, who led me to a house of pleasure he had at the farther end of his garden, which consisted of a cellar, a room for servants, and two rooms over them, handsomely furnished. The landlord seeing me seemingly much pleased with my lodging, said he was afraid I should be disturbed with some noise in the night-time, and named an officer of my acquaintance, then in town, who had been obliged to leave his house on that account: I asked him what noise could disturb me in a place so remote from other houses? He said it was haunted by a ghost: I told him if that was the case, I could, upon occasion, act a ghost myself, and as two of the same profession seldom agreed under the same roof, it should be my business to dislodge the other: at the same time I ordered my servants, before the landlord and his people, to load their pieces with ball, that in case of any disturbance, they might be ready to go and fire on those who made it. Those orders prevented any disturbance all the time I lodged there, and others were not afraid to lodge in that haunted house after I left it.

About this time the new king of Sweden sent an adjutant-general to Petersburgh, to notify to the czar, his accession to the throne, by the consent of the queen, his spouse, and the states of the kingdom; and as he had a particular esteem for the czar, he wished for nothing more earnestly than to conclude a firm and lasting peace with him; to which he was ready to contribute every thing in his power.

The new king
of Sweden
notifies his
accession.

BOOK VI. The czar answered, that he heartily gave the king of Sweden joy on his accession to the throne, and thanked him for his notification of it to him; that he was most willing to conclude a lasting peace with Sweden, if his Swedish majesty would also come to a firm resolution on that point. This gentleman was detained for some time at Petersburgh, that he might be an eye-witness of the preparations that were going forward for next campaign, and was shewn all the ships, gallies, and troops; and, after many civilities, was dispatched to Stockholm, with the czar's answer to the king of Sweden's letter.

The czar, to return the compliment he had received from the king of Sweden, sent adjutant-general Romanzof to Stockholm, to felicitate the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel on his accession to the throne, and assure him how true an esteem he always had for his person; that he earnestly wished to find in him, the same inclination to peace that he had himself. This envoy was received with as much splendor at Stockholm, as that of his Swedish majesty had been at Petersburgh; was carried wherever the court went, and was always one in every court-party of pleasure; and after some stay there, he returned to Petersburgh, highly pleased with the honours he had received at the Swedish court.

A second invasion. In the mean time, our forces in Finland were not inactive; prince Galitzin advancing as far as Aland with his gallies, to attempt an invasion on Sweden as soon as the frost broke; and before the arrival of the British squadron under sir John Norris, but was prevented by the ice: however, it drew the attention of the Swedes to that side, and favoured the execution of another design. The prince had ordered brigadier

Von Mengden to embark 5000 men at Wasa, and proceed ^{BOOK VI.} directly to Uma, in Lapland, which he did; took several officers and soldiers prisoners, and burnt the town, in which were several magazines; and then penetrating into the country on both sides, burnt and destroyed two gentlemen's seats, forty-one villages, containing above one thousand houses, seventeen mills, one hundred and thirteen magazines, and other buildings; which done, they returned to Wasa loaded with booty, and without suffering the smallest loss.

^{1720.}

On the 7th of August, the Swedish vice-admiral attack-
ed our fleet under Ameland, commanded by prince Galitzin; The Swedes
attack our
fleet with loss. but they met with such a warm reception as made them sheer off, with the loss of four frigates and two gallies, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and four hundred prisoners taken, besides two hundred men killed, and three hundred wounded: the prisoners, &c. were afterwards carried in triumph into Petersburg, at which ceremony both the czar and czarina were present, which was conducted with great pomp, because no victories were so much prized by the czar as those he gained at sea..

The season of the year at length obliged admiral Norris to leave the Baltic, where it may be said he had done much, by suffering the Russians to do little. The czar not doubt- ing but the British squadron would return next year, and seeing, from the conduct of the Swedes, that they must be constrained to sue for the peace they had rejected when offered to them, began early to prepare for a decisive cam- paign, by augmenting his navy, to put himself in a condi- tion to face both the British and Swedish fleets.

Mr.

BOOK VI. Mr. Stamke, minister of the duke of Holstein, had been at Petersburgh, since he left Aland on the king of Sweden's

^{1720.} The czar receives the duke of Holstein into his protection. death; and had done every thing that lay in his power to obtain the friendship and protection of the czar for that prince, his master, who waited at Breslaw in Silesia, to know

the success of this negotiation. The duke of Holstein, being son of the late king of Sweden's eldest sister, claimed a right to the crown preferable to that of the princess Ulrica, who was the younger sister, but now considered himself farther removed from it, by the resignation the queen had made of her right to her husband, the prince of Hesse. The czar, commiserating the unfortunate circumstances of the duke, whom the late king of Sweden designed for his successor, determined to afford him his protection, and for the first proof of it sent him a hundred thousand crowns, with an invitation to come from Breslaw to Riga.

Court-martial on lieutenant-colonel Graves. The over-fiscal having laid an information this winter against lieutenant-colonel Graves, of the artillery, an Englishman, for embezzling his majesty's stores, and selling them to foreign ship-masters, I sat on the court-martial. In the course of the trial we found the accusation to be entirely false, and proceeded from malice, because he refused the fiscal some stores he wanted, who had suborned two gunners as witnesses against the colonel, but who were both found guilty of perjury, and sent to prison. The fiscal being ill-pleased with our proceedings, complained to the fiscal-general of our partiality; and he laid the matter before the czar, who ordered the court-martial, the accused, and evidence, to repair to Petersburgh, where the affair was brought before a board

a board of general officers ; and the litigiousness and villany BOOK VI.
of the fiscal appeared so evident, that he and his two wit-
nesses were knouted and banished to Siberia. 1720. We had our
travelling expences paid, and returned to Revel ; but, not-
withstanding colonel Graves was honourably acquitted, he
could never recover the six months pay for the time he was
under arrest on his trial, which is sufficient evidence of the
hardship officers labour under in this service : the plea they
used was, that he had done no duty in that time. The co-
lonel was so much disgusted with this treatment, that he left
the service without taking leave.

At my return to Revel, a comical law-suit was commenced A curious
law-suit be-
tween two
brothers.
between my landlord and his brother, both merchants in the
town ; the case was thus :—The two brothers had always
lived at great variance with each other ; my landlord, who
was very rich, was determined, in case he should die, his
brother should not succeed him ; he had been married se-
veral years to a very handsome woman, without having any
children by her ; the blame whereof he attributed more to
himself than to his wife ; and being resolved that his wife,
at any rate, should have a child, to deprive his brother from
being his heir, he took a lieutenant into his house as a lodger,
a handsome young fellow, to whom he gave all manner of
opportunities to converse with his wife, having before-hand
concerted the matter with her, by which means she soon
proved to be with child : she then made the gentleman a
present of a purse with a hundred ducats, desiring him, at
the same time, to seek out another lodging, as her husband
was grown jealous and began to suspect her, which made
it absolutely necessary for him to remove, promising, that
if

BOOK VI. if he ever stood in need of her assistance, he might depend upon her. The gentleman finding her very positive, notwithstanding all his remonstrances, was, at last, obliged to comply, flattering himself to find frequent opportunities to converse with her; but in this he found himself mistaken, for she shunned all occasion of ever being alone with him. This exasperated him so much, that one evening, when he knew her husband to be from home, he forced his way into her bed-chamber, and desired to know why she shunned his company. She very frankly told him, that she had cohabited with him, not from lust, but with an intention to have a child by him to inherit her husband's estate; and as she was now with child, she hoped he would not envy its being heir to a good estate; and desired, therefore, he would not be an instrument in defaming her and ruining his own child; desiring him to give over any thoughts of enjoying her any more, she being fully determined against it. After this speech she gave him a diamond ring, and a purse with fifty ducats and retired, locking herself up in another room: upon this he went away in a great passion, and in a fit of ill-humour, divulged the whole intrigue to some of his companions, who soon spread it over the town, by which means his brother got notice of it, and commenced the law-suit; but the husband acknowledging the child to be his, the suit was dropt in course.

Fresh preparations against Sweden.

As the Swedes still persevered in refusing peace on the terms that had been agreed upon by the late king, the czar was now determined to compel them; and for this purpose augmented prince Galitzin's army in Finland with five battalions and two grenadier companies, from his own division, and

and two other regiments from Revel; we all embarked on BOOK VI.
board the gallies early in the morning of the 9th of May,
1721, and arrived in the evening at Elsingfoo, in Finland,
1721.
being fifty English miles over.

The Swedish monarch had sent Mr. Dahlman, his adjutant-general, to the czar, with proposals for a suspension of hostilities for one year, and, in the mean time, to settle affairs towards a lasting peace; but as the czar had made great preparations for the ensuing campaign, he would by no means consent thereto. He consented, however, to the mediation of France, which Mr. Campredon, the French minister at the court of Sweden, had, in some sort, before proposed. Upon this declaration, Mr. Campredon, at the desire of the Swedish court, set out for Petersburgh, to know what were the propositions of the czar, and found his majesty in the same mind he was before the congress of Aland, notwithstanding the many advantages he had gained since that time. Mr. Campredon returned to Stockholm, and Newstadt, in Finland, was appointed for the congress, where the plenipotentiaries met.

In the month of April, the duke of Holstein arrived at Riga, where the Russian court then resided, and was most graciously received by the czar and czarina; and, at this meeting, the foundation was laid of a nearer alliance with that prince. Our operations in Finland were pushed with great vigour: we were no sooner arrived at Elsingfoo, than sent, under lieutenant-general Lacy, to make a descent on the coasts of Sweden; 5000 men, and 370 Cossacs, with their horses, embarked on board of fifty gallies, were under sail the 27th of May, and landed next day near Gevel, on

Proposals on
their part for
a cessation of
hostilities,
agreed to.

A third de-
scent on Swe-
den,

1721. BOOK VI. on the Swedish coast, and marched along the coast to Sunderham, and from thence to Uma, which is above a hundred leagues. In all that way we met with so little resistance from the Swedes, having, as it seemed, lost their former bravery, that we had only eleven men killed ; whereas they had one hundred and three of their's killed, and we took forty-seven prisoners, with one standard and four colours, two bras and five iron cannon, three trumpets, and ten kettle-drums ; we also took and burnt six of their galleys, lately built, with two merchant-ships, and twenty-five other vessels ; and burnt and destroyed a magazine of arms and ammunition ; ruined a manufactory of muskets, and two iron forges ; burnt and destroyed thirteen mills, four towns, five hundred and nine hamlets, ninety-eight parishes, and three hundred and thirty-four barns, &c. &c.

which obliges them to sign the preliminaries, and conclude the peace.

This destructive expedition alarmed the Swedes to such a degree, that their plenipotentiaries at Newstadt had orders to sign the preliminaries directly ; upon which we received orders to reembark with our detachment, and return to Finland, and we arrived at the Junfer Sheerin, the 9th of September, where the peace was proclaimed. On the 14th, we went and joined the grand army, under the command of prince Galitzin, at Elsingfoo, where the peace was celebrated with every demonstration of joy, every one now being in hopes of enjoying some ease and rest after this long destructive war, which had lasted twenty years ; but we found ourselves mistaken, for the Swedish war was no sooner ended than another was begun, as will be seen hereafter. On the 16th, I was ordered to demolish the fort at Elsingfoo, and three thousand men being employed on that service, the

materials were soon thrown into the sea, which choaked up BOOK VI.
1721. the harbour, and the fort was so effectually rased, that not the least appearance remained of a fort having been on the spot.

On the 7th of October, the army embarked on board the gallies, to return to Petersburgh, and general Lacy sailed the same day with the vanguard, and we followed him the next with the main body, under the command of prince Galitzin ; and major-general Von Mengden brought up the rear. On the 10th, we were overtaken by a violent storm, in which we lost several gallies, and a number of our men ; we saw several wrecks on the rocks, which were of general Lacy's detachment, and met a number of feather-beds, tables, chairs, and barrels, floating on the sea ; amongst the rest, a barrel floating passed one of the gallies, was taken up, and in it was found a child asleep, which proved to be the child of a major, who, with his lady, perished in the storm ; and, as they were both foreigners, the infant was left a destitute orphan without a relation to take care of it ; but the case being made known to the czarina, her majesty took care of the child. We had seventeen gallies dashed to pieces in this storm, and several hundred men drowned. We reached Sand-Island on the 11th, and on the 13th Black-Island : it was still blowing fresh with frost and snow, so that it was with difficulty our men could manage the sails, or handle the oars. On the 17th, we got to White-Island, making our way through the shoals of ice, with a great deal of snow, whereby we were so benumbed, that we were obliged to keep ourselves in heat by hard labour. On the 18th, we got to Belosorof, where we refitted our damaged gallies,

BOOK VI. gallies, and on the 20th arrived at Cronslot. We did not stop here, but proceeded and got into the river Neva the

^{1721.}
Fleet arrive
at Peters-
burg.

next day, where the gallies were collected, and followed each other up the river in grand parade, each saluting the fort as they passed, and coming opposite to the senate-house, were ranged at an anchor, in six lines, across the river; and on a signal made by a rocket, we discharged all our guns and small-arms at one general volley; which was returned by the fort and admiralty with all their cannon: this was repeated three times, and the prodigious noise made us all so deaf, that we could scarce hear for several days after. This salute being ended, all the officers, above the degree of a subaltern, came ashore, by invitation, to the senate-house, where a grand entertainment was provided for all ranks of people, on which occasion numerous fire-works were played off, and the entertainment lasted till day-break, when the officers retired on board the gallies, and brought them to the wharfs where they were to be laid up; the men debarked, and we were put into winter-quarters, hoping now to enjoy our ease for some time after so much fatigue and danger.

Great rejoicings were now every where displayed throughout the empire; nothing was to be seen but treats, balls, and masquerades; the prisoners on both sides were set at liberty; a general promotion took place both in the army and navy; our plenipotentiaries were loaded with favours; general Bruce was made a count of the empire, and had a present of ten thousand rubles given him; Mr. Osterman was made a baron, and had a present of eight thousand; the secretary got two thousand; a general pardon was given to all those whose crimes deserved arbitrary punishments;

and

and all who were under sentence for public debts, which BOOK VI. amounted to several millions, were discharged:

On this important occasion, the senate, with the grandees, 1722. The czar honoured by his chief clergy of the empire, and the deputies of the several provinces, went in a body, and thanked his majesty for the fatherly care and unremitting attention, with which he had applied himself to advance the happiness and prosperity of the empire, and prayed him that he would be pleased to receive the grateful acknowledgement of his faithful people, and accept, after the example of other monarchs, the titles of *Father of his Country, Emperor of all the Russias*, and *Peter the Great*: which titles being offered him by all the states of the empire, he took some time to consider of it; and after some deliberation, accepted their offer, on which the senate repeated three times, long live *Peter the Great, Father of his Country, and Emperor of all the Russias*; and the whole assembly testified their applause with the sound of trumpets and kettle drums, at the same time the cannon were discharged from the ramparts of the fort and admiralty, and that was followed by a salvo from the musketry, of 24,000 foot, besides some battalions of the guards that were drawn up before the senate house. His majesty then made a speech to the states, and thanked them for their loyal address; to which they replied by a profound reverence, and thanked his imperial majesty for his paternal and gracious speech, which was followed by a second salute of cannon and small arms, and loud acclamations of the people; and this salute by a third. The senate next went in a body and congratulated the empress, and the imperial princesses, who very graciously thanked them. The emperor and empress then went to the hall:

BOOK VI. hall of the senate, where the duke of Holstein waited with

1721. all his retinue, and with him all the foreign ministers, who,
 every one congratulated their majesties on their entrance into
 the hall. After this ceremony, the company set down to table,
 where above a thousand persons of both sexes were enter-
 tained ; the conduits in the street ran with wine ; an ox
 was roasted whole, stuffed with fowls, for the populace ;
 and the evening concluded with illuminations and fire works,
 which ended these rejoicings that had now continued fifteen
 days, to the great satisfaction of every body.

A wise refor-
mation in the
business of
law.

The emperor having been informed how much his subjects suffered from law-suits, by the avarice of those they employed, in delaying to end a process, while any money was to be got from their clients, now took the matter into consideration, and ordained that a sufficient number of lawyers and attorneyes should be employed, and that each of them should have a handsome yearly salary, for which they should officiate to all his subjects, in every matter of law, gratis ; and to prevent one person being preferred to another, they were obliged to insert every suit as it was laid before them in their daily registers, and proceed in them according to their dates of entry, without respect of persons ; and whoever should be found to accept bribe or fee, or dilatory in forwarding a process at law, should be knouted and sent to Siberia into perpetual banishment : and whatever subject should conceive himself injured by the judge's sentence, might appeal to the emperor in person. This new regulation was highly acceptable to all his majesty's subjects, but more especially to the lower class : and as they had hitherto no written laws, the emperor caused a code to be composed of
 the

the civil law, in as plain, short, and easy a method as possible, agreeable to the method which marshal Weyde had formerly adopted in compiling the military law; which was contained in a small pocket volume, printed in the Russian and German languages, and of which every officer had one given him for his instruction.

I was now informed from Scotland, that a small estate had devolved to me there, by the death of my grandfather's brother, upon which I begged count Bruce to procure me leave from the emperor, to go to Scotland, to see my friends and settle my affairs in that country; but his majesty told him he intended to take me with him upon a certain expedition, where he would have occasion to employ me, and promised when that was at an end, I should have leave to go to Scotland.

The captain
again refused
leave to quit.

The emperor intending to make a triumphal entry into Moscow, the metropolis of his empire, ordered his own division, or guards, consisting of four regiments, or twelve battalions, and four grenadier companies, to repair to Moscow, where we were to meet on the 26th of December, every one being permitted to make the best of his way to the place of rendezvous, as suited him; but this was now attended with great inconvenience to the officers, having left all our horses and equipages at Revel, which we were obliged to sell at a very low rate, and were now hard put to it for want of horses, as the present demand made them very scarce, and excessive dear. Upon my communicating my difficulty to count Bruce, he gave me six of his coach-horses, which he intended to have sent away before him to Moscow. By which means I set off by myself the 1st of November, but the frost being not hard enough to carry the weight of the horses,

I found

BOOK VI. I found it exceeding bad travelling, and proceeded with the
 ————— ^{1721.} utmost difficulty; the horses legs soon became so cut and wounded by the ice, which broke at every step they made, that it was the 25th before I could reach Novgorod, where I left the general's horses to be cured of their wounds, and set forward with hired horses to Seragorod, where I got the 4th of December, and joined our regiment who were forming there, and we marched from thence in a body on the 15th, and arrived near Moscow on the 26th, where we joined the rest of our division, and were augmented with two field regiments, making in all seventeen battalions.

On the 29th of December, his imperial majesty made his triumphal entry in Moscow, in a very fine order; he walked on foot, dressed in his colonel's uniform, at the head of the first regiment of guards, preceded by a company of grenadiers, and a band of martial music, consisting of a pair of kettle-drums, two trumpets, two French horns, eight hautboys and four bassoons; after the emperor walked two lieutenant-colonels, Menzikof and Butterlin, behind them four majors, Galitzin, Usupof, Matuskin, and Romanzof; after them four captains, followed by four captain lieutenants; next followed the colours of the sixteen companies of the first regiment of guards, in two ranks: the other regiments followed in the same order; and the balconies, windows and streets through which we marched, were crowded with spectators innumerable. Being arrived at the first triumphal arch, erected in Twer street, his majesty was received with the sound of trumpets, and a general discharge of all the artillery in the city, and ringing of bells. When he arrived at the second triumphal arch, he was com-

plimented by the archbishop of Novogorod, vice-president BOOK VI.
of the synod, at the head of the secular and regular clergy,
where he was entertained some time with vocal and instru-
mental music, performed by young students, in various fo-
reign languages, before the duke of Holstein, the senators,
and others of rank. His majesty then proceeded to the third
arch, erected by the directions of prince Menzikof, where
he stopt a little to gratify the curiosity of the populace,
who gave every demonstration of their joy. His majesty
then continued his march towards the fourth arch, erected
by the magistrates, when he was received by Knez Trubetzkoi,
president of the magistracy, and by the whole body of ma-
gistrates, accompanied by a great number of eminent mer-
chants; from thence we proceeded to the Inoisemska Sla-
boda, which is that part of the city where all the foreigners
dwell, where we were entertained with eating and drinking-
ing till very late: from whence we went to our respective
quarters.

This triumphal entry was succeeded by six weeks feasting,
with balls, masquerades, and other diversions; amongst the
many other shews that were exhibited on this occasion, was
a little yacht, of fine workmanship, and gilded all over,
mounted with twelve small brass guns, with colours and
pendants flying; this vessel was set upon a sledge and drawn
by horses, in which the emperor and the duke of Holstein,
with others, to the number of twenty, all dressed in seamen's
cloaths, drove for several days through the streets of Moscow,
attended by a band of music, from one grandee's house to
another, where magnificent entertainments were prepared
for them; the guns from the yacht firing at every house

BOOK VI. where they stopped. All the streets of the city were illuminated every night ; and this shew was very pleasing to the inhabitants, who had never seen any thing like a ship before ; people of all ranks minded nothing but their pleasures during the whole time, till a new and sudden affair put a stop to all their merriment, which was this :

1722. On the 22d of February 1722, a proclamation was made by the sound of trumpet, requiring every natural-born subject of the Russian empire, and all foreigners then residing there, to swear and sign an oath, " That they will acknowledge as successor to the empire, the person whom his majesty should nominate for their sovereign, after his death." This order struck a damp on the spirits of every body, when they reflected on the undoubted title of the young prince Peter, his majesty's grandson, and only remaining male heir of the imperial family ; who was as promising and hopeful a young prince, as any of his age could possibly be. The order however must be obeyed, and was complied with by many with a reluctant heart, as the innocent prince could not help his father's failings. All the officers of our division were ordered to different parishes, to administer this oath and see it subscribed ; one of the parishes within the city fell to my lot, which being very numerous, took me no less than five weeks close attendance, from day light in the morning till late at night by candle ; this was to me, the most disagreeable service I ever performed in Russia, as I was so well acquainted with the excellent temper and genius of the young prince, having had the honor to teach him the military excercises and fortification, and to whose prejudice this oath was certainly administered.

BOOK

B O O K VII.

The reason for the Persian expedition.—Embark on the river Moscow.—Nisni-Novgorod.—Embark on the gallies.—The Cereniss Tartars.—Casan Tartars.—Manner of fishing in the IVolga.—Kinds of fish.—Alabaster quarry.—Bulgarian Tartars, and the Maiden-Hill.—Kalmuck Tartars.—Astrachan.—Nagayan Tartars.—Short account of the Tartars in general.—The Nagayan Tartars manner of life.—Deserts near Astrachan rich with salt.—Fruits at Astrachan.—The Banyan woman's burning herself at her husband's death.—The inhabitants of India.—The Banyans.

AFTER this point was settled, the emperor made preparations for an expedition to take satisfaction for the injuries he had received from the rebel Persians, bordering on the Caspian sea. Mr. Wolinsky, whom his majesty had sent ambassador to Myr Maghmut, the usurper, was just returned from Persia, with a very unsatisfactory answer. The people about mount Caucasus, on the west side of the Caspian, had taken Schamachi, in the province of Shirvan, and put three hundred Russian merchants to the sword, who were there on their mercantile affairs, and seized their effects to the amount of above a million of rubles: the Russian caravan from China, had been treated in the same manner by the Ulbeck Tartars, who were in alliance with the usurper; and the inhabitants of Androfka, near the borders of Russia, had made frequent inroads on the Russian territories, and pillaged, burnt, and destroyed, every thing they met with, and carried off a great number of people, of both sexes, into slavery. Mr. Wolinsky, who had been sent to demand satisfaction for these insults, returning

1722.
The reasons
for the Per-
sian expedi-
tion.

BOOK VII. without being able to obtain the least satisfaction, determined ————— the emperor to seek redress by force of arms, and to command the expedition in person. While this was in agitation,
^{1722.} there arrived three successive expresses from Chach Hussein, the dethroned monarch of Persia, imploring his majesty's aid and assistance against the usurper, on conditions too advantageous for so wise a prince to neglect, and which hastened forward the expedition.

Embark on
river Mos-
cow.

When the emperor first resolved on this expedition, he gave orders for building at Nisni Novgorod, a sufficient number of gallies and flore-ships to carry 30,000 of his regular troops down the river Wolga to Astrachan ; and having now settled how the affairs of government were to be conducted in his absence, we embarked on the river Moscow, for our expedition into Asia, on the 26th of April. In going down the river, we had a fine view of one of the most fertile and pleasant countries in the world. On the 3d of May, we arrived before the town of Columna, which is one hundred and eight wersts by water from Moscow, but not half that distance by land ; it is a town of considerable size, environed with a stone wall and towers, and is a bishop's seat. Here the river Moscow falls into the Occa, which coming from the south, is not only a much larger river, but has on its banks a noble country, very populous and fruitful ; and the vast number of stately oaks on both its shores, renders it one of the most delightful countries in the world. The city of Wolodimer stands between the Occa and Wolga, and is situated in the most fertile country in all Moscovy ; it was for a considerable time the residence of the great dukes, till the imperial seat was transferred to

Mos-

Moscow, since which it is much decayed. To this province BOOK VII. are annexed the two Tartarian principalities of Cassinou ————— and Mordwa ; the capital of the first is Cassinogorod, situated on the right of the river Occa, surrounded with a great many villages and monasteries, which stand most pleasantly among the woods. The chief city of the second is Moruma, which stands on the left of the Occa, which here receives the stream of the Clesna, which comes from Wolodimer. Two unfortunate accidents befell us here ; a soldier lost his leg by a cable at the letting go an anchor, and a soldier's wife was squeezed to death between two vessels, having fallen down in stepping from the one to the other.

On the 25th of May, we arrived before Nisni-Novogorod, Nisni Novgorod. seven hundred and fifty wersts from Moscow. This city is built at the conflux of the two great rivers Occa and Wolga; the Wolga is, at the junction of the two rivers, four thousand five hundred geometrical feet wide. This river hath its rise from a lake called Wolga, in the province of Roshovie, and is, without doubt, the largest river in Europe, being from its source to the Caspian, into which it falls, above two thousand nine hundred wersts long; but from its source to this city, running for above four hundred wersts through the southern parts of Moscovy, it has but an indifferent stream, and touches upon few places of note. This city received its name from the famous city of Novogorod, the inhabitants of which were, by order of the tyrant Ivan Basilowitz, transported to this place; it is surrounded by very strong stone walls and towers, and the suburbs are larger than the city, being near three miles in circumference; it is inhabited by Tartars, Ruslians, and Dutch, most of them .

BOOK VII. them merchants; the Dutch have a Protestant church
here.

^{1722.} All the army destined for this expedition were assembled here in one body, and embarked in the new gallies built here; and as they were but small, sixteen of them were allotted to each regiment, which, with a great many store and hospital ships, made a very numerous fleet. The emperor and empress arrived here the 27th, in a fine yacht, built for them at Moscow. His majesty's birth-day being on the 30th, the army was drawn up in order on the shore, and after firing three volleys, went all again on board the gallies; in firing the guns on board his majesty's yacht, one of them burst, and killed a grenadier on sentry, and wounded one of the maids of honour so dangerously, that she died in a few hours. On this occasion, a grand entertainment was prepared in the city, for their majesties and all the field officers, by Mr. Strogenof, a merchant, reputed to be a man of the most extensive trade and riches, of any merchant in all Russia. He sent plenty of beer and brandy on board the gallies for the soldiers; and at the conclusion of the entertainment, the emperor created Mr. Strogenof a baron. Their majesty's went on board the yacht the same evening, and set out before us on their passage to Astrachan, to see every thing prepared that was necessary for the expedition over the Caspian, but the fleet was detained some days in getting all things ready.

There was here a Capuchin friar, who had been a captain in the Swiss service; but having killed an officer in a duel he turned Capuchin, and was now in his way as a missionary to Persia: understanding he was to preach, curiosity led me

to

to accompany some officers of the Romish persuasion, to hear him, and his discourse far exceeded our expectation. After he had ended his sermon, he addressed himself to his audience desiring a passage to Astrachan ; but, notwithstanding there were then present, several field-officers of his own persuasion, none of them had the civility to make him the offer, at which he appeared much concerned. After all the officers were gone out, I went up and told him, if he would accept of a passage from a heretic, he should be very welcome to a share of my cabin, which he very thankfully accepted ; and I must acknowledge, I never travelled with a more agreeable companion, who afterwards, upon all occasions, shewed his utmost gratitude. When we arrived at Astrachan, he succeeded to one of the fraternity, who was lately dead, and settled there, which was a happy circumstance for this friar, considering the convulsed state in which Persia then was.

On the 10th of June, our fleet set out under the command of admiral Apraxin. We found vast quantities of asparagus, growing wild on the banks of the river in great perfection, occasioned by the overflowing of its waters from the melting of the snow in the spring. On the 11th we arrived at Basiligorod, on the right side of the Wolga, built by the tyrant of that name, as a frontier place against the incursions of the Tartars, called Ceremisses; but since the Russians have extended their conquests over the Tartars on that side, all the way to the Caspian sea, this place has been much neglected, and now only resembles a large village.

The Ceremisse Tartars inhabit both side of the Wolga, from hence to the kingdom of Casan. They are a people
bar-

BOOK VII. barbarous, treacherous, and cruel, living by robberies ; their food is wild-fowl, fish, and honey, with plenty of milk, which their pastures furnish them with, and they eat the flesh of their horses and cows, when they die of their own accord, for they never kill any for themselves : they have no houses, but most wretched huts. Those on the right side of the river are called Nagarin, or Mountaineers, and those inhabiting the left, are called Lugoivi, from their meadows, which supply them on both sides of the river with hay : they are all heathens, using neither circumcision nor baptism ; they give a child its name from the first person they meet that day six months after its birth ; they acknowlege an immortal God, the author all good, who ought to be adored, but ridicule the immortality of the soul ; although they believe not in a hell, yet they dread the devil as the author of all misfortunes, and therefore they pretend to appease him with sacrifices : when they offer a sacrifice to God, they kill a horse, cow, or sheep, and extend its skin on a high pole, which they implore to intercede for them with God, that he may increase the number of their cattle. They have a high veneration for the sun and moon, as the authors of the productions of the earth. They make use of no churches, priests, or books : polygamy is used among them, so as to marry two or three sisters at a time. Their women and maid's are all wrapped up in a piece of white coarse cloth, and scarce any thing to be seen but their faces ; the men wear a long coat made of linen cloth, under which they wear breeches : they all shave their heads ; the young men that are unmarried, leave a tress of hair to hang down their back by way distinction. Their language is peculiar to themselves, having no resemblance to that

of other neighbouring Tartars, or with the Turkish or Russian; although some of them that are conversant with the Russians have attained some knowledge of their tongue. Forty wersts distant from Basilgorod, is the town of Kasmademiunski, situated at the foot of a hill on the right side of the river, the whole country thereabouts being as one continued forest of elm-trees, of an extraordinary compass. Forty wersts farther down the river, on the same shore, stands the town of Sabakzar, the most pleasant of any in those parts, from its situation. Twenty-five wersts lower, and having past three small islands on the left side of the river, we come to the town of Kockshage. On the same side, some wersts lower down, stands the town of Suiatski, built on the ascent of a hill; the castle and churches are of stone, the rest of the buildings and fortifications are of wood.

Going from this in the night, towards the river Casanski, Casan Tar. tars. my vessel sprung a leak, and was very near being lost before we discovered it: we got ashore with the utmost difficulty, and having cleared the vessel of water, and stopped the leak in the best manner we could, we stood up the river Casanski, to the city of Casan, seven wersts from the Wolga, and there I got my vessel repaired. This city is very large, and stands in a fertile plain, on the left side of the Wolga; its houses and fortifications are of wood, but the castle and its works, which consist of four bastions and a good many towers, are of stone; the river surrounding it, serves for a ditch. The garrison consists of Russians only, under a governor, but the city is inhabited by Tartars and Russians, who have their own governor. The kings of Casan, in former times, maintained very bloody wars with the Russians,

BOOK VII. and frequently laid them under contribution, bringing commonly an army of sixty thousand men into the field ; but ^{1722.} they were at last subdued by Ivan Basilowitz, in the year 1552, and the royal family brought prisoners to Moscow, where their posterity still remain, the chief whereof is called the Casanski czarowitz to this day. It is to be observed that the course of the river Wolga, from Moscow to Casan, is east ; and from thence to the Caspian, is south. The kingdom of Casan lies on the left side of the Wolga, and its inhabitants live all in houses, and subsist by agriculture : they supply the southern provinces with all sorts of provisions, and by this means they are the most civilized of all the Tartars. They are partly Mahometans, but most of those who inhabit cities and towns, are of the Greek church ; they are forbid, under severe punishment, to enter within any of the fortifications. They are bounded on the south by the Tartars of Bulgaria, and on the north by those of Siberia.

Having got my galley repaired, I departed from Casan on the 17th of June, but did not overtake the fleet again till we arrived at Astrachan, as they made no stop by night or day. About sixty wersts below Casan, the river Kama falls into the Wolga on the left side ; and thirty wersts below that, the river Zerdick also falls in ; and at thirty wersts distant from thence, on the right side of the river, stands the town of Tetus, resembling, by its disorderly buildings, rather a great village than a town. Twenty-five wersts below that, on the opposite side, the river Utka falls in, which rises near the city of Bulgar, the capital of the Tartarian kingdom of that name. Some wersts lower is an island called Staritza, fifteen wersts long ; and not far below that, stands the ruins

of

of a considerable city among the Tartars, called Ureneskora; BOOK VII. destroyed by Tamerlane; it is most delightfully situated, ————— and famous this day for the sepulchre of one of their saints, 1722. to whom they pay great devotion.

A good many wersts below this, on the right side, are likewise to be seen the ruins of two other great cities, not far distant from each other; pleasantly situated near the banks of the river: the first was called Simberska, the second Arbuchim; they were likewise destroyed by Tamerlane. Here I overtook three gallies and one store-ship; they had lost three of their anchors, and had three soldiers and one gunner drowned. Being the senior officer, I took them under my command, and this meeting made the remainder of the voyage so much the more agreeable, as there were some officers ladies and a band of music on board the store-ship, passing our time with dancing in the evenings, and with fishing and fowling by day, both kinds being of the best sort in great plenty; all sorts of butchers meat and others kind of provisions we bought for little or nothing, and as we had good store of all sorts of liquors on board our vessels, we passed our time altogether in the store-ship, where we were not straitened for room, very agreeably.

The Wolga, hereabouts, is full of small islands and sand-banks, lying scattered up and down on both shores, which renders the passage very difficult, and at certain seasons impracticable for vessels of great burthen, who are obliged to go for the most part, in the months of May and June, when by reason of the snow melting, and rivers which fall into it being thawed, its waters swell to so great a height, that boats can often pass over the smaller islands. This river

BOOK VII contains prodigious store of fish of all sorts, and which are
 —————— a valuable commodity in Muscovy, on account of their nu-

^{1722.} Manner of fishing in the Wolga. merous fast days, which both Tartars and Russians catch with a cord, but in a different manner. The Tartars take a long

rope, to one end of which they fasten a large stone which sinks it to the bottom, and to the other end they fasten several large pieces of wood, which float in the water; all along this rope, and at some distance from each other, they fasten many small cords, with a hook at the end of each, baited with a certain small fish, which the large ones are fond of; they lay several of these ropes across the river every evening, and take them up in the morning, and seldom miss a fish of one kind or other on every hook, some of them ten, twelve, or more, feet long. The Russians also use a

rope, and fasten a baited hook to the end of it, and have also their small cords baited with small wooden fish, tinned over, which being dragged behind a boat, by the reflection of the sun resembles the scales of fish, by which means they Kinds of fish. draw up fish of a very great size, to the bait. Among the great variety of fish with which this river abounds, the sturgeon is none of the least considerable, whose eggs afford what the Russians call Ikari, and we caviar: the beluga, or white fish, deserves also to be mentioned; they are from five to six yards long, and thick in proportion; they likewise make caviar of the eggs, or roe of this fish, which is of a clear grey colour, larger and more delicious to the taste than those of the sturgeon, but not so fit for exportation, as they cannot find out the method to preserve them; the roes of the sturgeon are black and small, and after ten or twelve days preparation in salt, are put up in a paste and trans-

ported to all parts of Europe : this commodity affords a considerable trade to Russia. Besides the sturgeon and beluga, it yields also the osotrin, another very large fish, very fat and delicious : this river also abounds with salmon, sterlitz, a most delicious fish, and innumerable other sorts too tedious to mention.

BOOK VII.

1722.

Going down the river we met several strusses, or flat-bottomed vessels, carrying from eight to nine hundred tons, which go loaded from Astrachan to Moscow, with salt, fish, caviar, and all sorts of Indian and Persian goods ; they seldom carry less than two hundred men, on account of the laborious work they have to undergo, in going up against the stream when the wind fails them, which is often the case ; and where the shore is rough, they send their boats a head with warp anchors to a considerable distance, one after another, by which means they warp themselves up against the stream very expeditiously ; the men running with the warp-rope on their shoulders, relieving each other by turns : where the banks are plain and even, the people are set to tow her.

Near the ruined city of Arbuchim, was a stone ten yards long, and six broad and deep, sunk in the ground ; on the upper side was an inscription in the Russian language, signifying, whoever lifted this stone up should be rewarded for their pains ; several of the inhabitants assembled and turned it up, and found another inscription on the reverse side, " Fools, what do you seek ? there is nothing laid here."

From hence we came to a village called Tenefowa, where there was a fine alabaster quarry, of which I took three large pieces, and put them in the store ship, to show them to his majesty. On the 20th of June, we arrived at Sa-

Alabaster
quarry.
mara,

BOOK VII. mara, on the left side of the river, a town belonging to the kingdom of Eulgar ; the river Samar, from which it takes its name, falls into the Wolga here, and is above three hundred wersts from Casan. The form of Samara is square, and the fortifications and buildings are all of wood, except the churches and monasteries. The garrison consists of a number of regular troops and Cossacks under a governor. The life and manners of the Bulgarians, are much the same with those of Casan.

*Bulgarian
Tartars, and
the Maiden-
hill.*

Not far from this place, and near the river Uffa, stands a remarkable hill, called Dewitza-Gora, or the Maiden-hill, of which they relate many fabulous stories that are not worth repeating. It was formerly the rendezvous of a body of Cossack robbers, who from its top, could see a considerable distance both up and down the river, and were thereby enabled to intercept and rob such vessels as they thought proper ; but at this time it was converted into a convent of monks. The hill is in shape like a sugar-loaf, with an easy ascent winding round it to the top ; and at small distances on this winding road, are cells containing one monk each ; at the top is the dwelling of their superior, whose house, as also the chapel, is built of wood, on a spacious flat piece of ground ; from hence is one of the most beautiful prospects I ever saw. By the sides of this winding road, from the bottom to the top, large pine trees stand at such regular distances, as if they had been planted on purpose ; and have a most pleasing effect to the eye. At a small distance from hence, rises another hill, which reaches near forty wersts along the river, and the vallies between are stored with apple-trees, which yield plenty of cyder, which the Russians call yablona quas. Some of those mountains run a long way

way into the country. In this most delightful voyage, we BOOK VII. found great convenience from the pinnaces belonging to the gallies, from six to ten oars each, which enabled us to gratify our curiosity, without hindering our vessels from proceeding on their voyage.

On the 27th of June we got to Saratof, seventeen hundred and eighty wersts by water from Moscow ; here we caught two large sturgeon and a beluga, or white-fish, six yards long, and thick in proportion ; these three fish were a sufficient meal for all the people on board the five vessels. The city of Saratof is situated on a very fair large plain, about four wersts from the main river, on a branch of the Wolga ; it is inhabited, or rather garrisoned, by a great number of Russian soldiers and Cossacks, who are put here as a guard against the incursions of the Kalmuck Kalmuck Tartars, inhabiting, a vast territory lying between the Wolga and the river Jaick, toward the Caspian sea, and possess the left side of the Wolga from hence near to Astrachan, in all which immense tract there is not so much as one single house to be seen, as they all live in tents, and remove from one place to another in quest of pasturage for their large herds of cattle, consisting of horses, camels, cows, and sheep ; they neither sow, nor reap, nor make hay for their cattle, so that they live without bread, or any sort of vegetable ; and in the winter their cattle fare as other wild beasts. Their food is flesh (especially that of horses), fish, wild-fowl, and venison, and have a great plenty of milk, butter, and cheese ; but mare's milk is the most esteemed among them, and from it they make a very strong spirit, of which they are very fond ; it is clear as water, but

I could.

BOOK VII. I could never learn how it is made. The Kalmucks are divided into an infinite number of hordes, or clans, every one under their own particular chan, and all of those acknowledge the authority of one principal chan, who is called Otchicurti-chan, or the king of kings, and who derives his pedigree from the great Tamerlane. He is a very potent prince, and lives in great splendor; is formidable to all the neighbouring Tartars, and to the Russians themselves, who are obliged to keep considerable garrisons on the right-side of the river, all the way from Saratof to Astrachan to prevent their excursions, as the Kalmucks are in possession of the opposite shore, and are also under the necessity of furnishing the Negayan Tartars about Astrachan with arms to defend themselves, in the summer, against the incursions of the Kalmucks, who formerly used to come every summer to ravage the country of the Nagayans about Astrachan, but since they have been made sensible of the effects of the small arms and cannon now put in their hands by the Russians, they content themselves with coming once a year to the great plains of Astrachan for the conveniency of food for their cattle, at a season when their more northern possessions are quite destitute of it. This is commonly done with not less than one hundred thousand men, and they rarely return without having received their accustomed present of bread, brandy, and tobacco, from the governor of Astrachan.

There is no doubt but the Russians are powerful enough to curb the insolence of these vagabonds, were it not for the consideration of a benefit arising from the traffic for their furs and horses, which they bring every year in great abundance to Astrachan; and also for the service they are of to

the

the Russians in their wars with the Turks and Crim-Tartars, BOOK VII.
being accounted the most alert at pitching and removing
their tents of any people in the world, which they are ac-
customed to by their constant incursions to some or other of
the neighbouring countries. It is principally from this view
that the Russians looked upon it as a piece of policy rather
to allay their fierceness by some presents, which, however,
by continuance of time, they now demand as an obligation,
than to engage in a war against a multitude of vagabonds
who have so little to lose ; having neither house nor fixed
residence in all their dominions, but live the year round in
tents covered with felts, in which, however, both for neat-
ness and conveniency, they far exceed all the neighbouring
nations, even those who live in fixed habitations.

The Kalmucks, as well as the other nations of Great Tartary, are Pagans. As to their persons, they are of a low stature, and generally bow-legged, occasioned by their being so continually on horseback, or sitting with their legs below them ; their faces are broad and flat, with a flat nose and little black eyes, distant from each other like the Chinese ; they are of an olive-colour, and their faces full of wrinkles, with very little or no beard ; they shave their heads, leaving only a tuft of hair on the crown. The better sort of them wear coats of stuff or silk, above which they wear a large, wide, fur coat of sheep-skins, and a cap of the same : in the time of war, they cover their head and body with iron net-work, which they call a pantzer, the links of which are so close, that it is proof against any kind of weapons except fire-arms, as a bullet will break it, and generally carries some broken pieces into the wound,

BOOK VII. which makes them stand in great awe of fire-arms. Their
only weapons are the scymitar, lance, and bow and arrow;
^{1722.} but they are coming into the use of fire-arms, which, in time, will make them more formidable. Their cattle are large, and their sheep are of the largest kind, having great fat tails, weighing from twenty-six to thirty pounds; their ears hanging down like our dogs, and instead of wool they have soft curled hair, so that their skins are all converted into fur coats. Their horses are but small and of a bad shape, but swift, hardy, and strong, and many of them pace naturally, and trot at an incredible rate. They eat the flesh of camels, cows, and sheep, but universally give the preference to that of the horse.

They are, in their own way, the happiest people on the earth, being fatigued with no kind of labour, but diverting themselves with fishing and hunting; and I can conceive nothing preferable to their way of living in the summer: but in winter they are obliged to cross the river, and live on the bare plain of Astrachan, where their only firing is the dried dung of the cattle, and the cattle themselves starving on the scanty produce of a barren desert. Here they remain till the spring, when their former habitation, on the east side of the river, is overflowed for near a month to a vast extent by the melting of the snow, and their country appears one continued sea over-grown with trees: as soon as this subsides, they return with great joy, swimming their loaded camels and cattle over the river, where the intervening islands make their passage easiest. It is to be observed, that the Kalmucks, when they go upon any expedition, have no regard either to bridges or boats; they no sooner come

to a river, than in they plunge with their horses, and sliding from their backs hold fast by the manes till they get over, and then immediately mount again, and so proceed. But to return to our passage down the river.

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The 2d of July we arrived at Kamusinski, which is a well fortified town, situate on the river Kamus, and has a numerous garrison of soldiers and Cossacks. A canal was begun here to make a communication between the rivers Wolga and Don, or Tanais, and after being greatly advanced, was at last found impracticable by the vast quantity of hard rock lying in the way, which could only be removed by blowing at such an immense expence of time and treasure that the attempt was dropt. Opposite to Kamus, a branch of the Wolga points its course into the country, north-east, one werst, quite contrary to the current of the great river; but afterwards resuming its former course, returns to the south-east, and continues in that direction, till it falls into the Caspian sea. About forty miles from this, and at a small distance from the river-side, are to be seen the ruins of a great city, formerly called Czarefgorod, built, as is related, by Tamerlane: its palace and walls were all of brick, and have served the city of Astrachan with materials, these many years, for building their walls, churches, and monasteries. The 4th of July, we came before Czaritza, which is fortified with several bastions and towers, but all of wood, and inhabited only by soldiers and Cossacks. All about here, and even as far Astrachan, the island of Zerpinsko excepted, which, being twelve wersts long, supports the cattle belonging to the garrison, the soil is so very barren, that it affords no manner of corn: this defect, however, is easily supplied

BOOK VII. by the help of the river, the fertile lands of Casan furnishing those parts, and even the city of Astrachan, with wheat and rye, at a very moderate price. Forty wersts below Czaritza, this great river casts out her second branch, which joins the first, and with it falls into the sea. From hence, on both sides the Wolga, as far as the sea, grows vast quantities of liquorice of a very large size, its stalk being as thick as a lusty man's arm, and sometimes above four feet high, the seeds lying in pods upon the stalk; yet this is inferior, both in size and sweetnes, to that which grows near the river Araxis in Asia.

The 6th, we arrived before Zornayar, seated on the right side of the river, on a high shore, near a vast plain, without trees or eminences; the form of the place is a square, fortified with wooden towers and ramparts, and garrisoned with soldiers and Cosacks, all horsemen. A few wersts below this is a third branch of the Wolga, called Buchwostowa, which falls into the two preceding; and at twenty wersts farther down she sends out her fourth branch called Donitofka, which does not mingle with any of the other three, but flows by a particular channel into the Caspian sea. In passing the left shore, we frequently visited the Kalmucks in their kibbits, or tents, which we always found pitched on the most delightful places I ever saw, their country being a large plain, full of wood and meadows; and we were much diverted with the numbers of their children of both sexes, running naked along the shore; and upon our throwing bread into the water, they swam in crowds to take it up, there being none of them but can swim to admiration. About sixty wersts above Astrachan is the fifth branch of the

Wolga,

Wolga, and is called Mituska, which, at some distance from the main river, divides again into two streams, one of which unites with the Donitolska, and the other returns again to the Wolga. Twenty-five wersts above Astrachan lies the isle of Busan, and ten wersts below that isle is the sixth branch of the Wolga called Baltzick ; and some wersts lower, the seventh, called Knilusse, which forms the isle of Dolgoi, upon which stands the city of Astrachan : having encompassed this island, it falls through several channels into the Caspian sea.

On the 10th of July I arrived at the city of Astrachan, where I joined the army again. They were all surprised to see me, as they had been informed by a galley, which passed us in the night, when we were in our greatest danger, that we were all drowned. Here my agreeable companion, the Capuchin, entered into a cloyster of his own order, as there happened to be a vacancy by the death of one of their brethren, which was very fortunate for the Capuchin, as the confusions then in Persia made it impracticable for him to proceed thither, as he at first proposed. I met with the utmost gratitude and civility from him and the rest of his brethren, and when I went away, upon our expedition over the Caspian sea, I left every thing I had no occasion for at their convent ; and he sent me afterwards, by every ship that arrived, provisions of all kinds, by which means I was better provided than any officer in the army : so that I lost nothing by my civility to the Capuchin.

The city of Astrachan is situated on the confines of Europe and Asia, which are divided by the river Wolga. It stands on the island of Dolgoi, which is formed by the branches

BOOK VII branches on that river, as has been already mentioned, in 46
 deg. 22 min. north lat. two thousand six hundred and thirty
^{15722.} wersts from Moscow, allowing ninety wersts to a degree. The city is of a considerable bigness, and at present inhabited almost entirely by Russians; the former inhabitants of the country, being Tartars, are not permitted to live within the walls, but in the adjacent suburbs, which are only fenced round with pallisades: the fortifications of the city are all of stone, very high, and at a distance make a very gallant appearance, especially toward the river, by the great number of stone turrets and steeples; but the houses within the city being all of wood, and very low, its inside does not appear answerable to the rest. There is a great train of artillery in this place, no less than five hundred brass cannon, with a proportionable number of mortars; the garrison, in peaceable times, is commonly six thousand men, under the command of a governor and other officers. Astrachan being situate on a navigable boundary, between the two most considerable quarters of the globe, is naturally the seat of an immense trade; being frequented not only by the neighbouring Tartar nations, but by Persians, Armenians, and Indians: the Indians have a particular district assigned them within the walls of the city.

Nagayan
Tartars.

Czar Iwan Basilowitz, having conquered the kingdom of Casan, in the year 1552, turned his arms against the Nagayan Tartars, and took Astrachan, their capital, by assault, in the year 1554; and to secure his conquest he surrounded the city with a strong wall. Czar Michael Fedrowitz, besides strengthening the city with some new fortifications, built that part of it called Strelitza-Gorod, or the city of soldiers, as the military

military had their quarters assigned them there. I will now BOOK VII.
endeavour to give a short description of this country and —————
its inhabitants.

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It seems beyond a dispute, the Tartars were unknown to the ancient geographers, who comprehended them under the general appellation of Scythians and Sarmatians ; it is evident the Tartars consist of several nations, distinct among themselves, in their names, language, and customs. The Nagayans, with the Tartars of Casan, and some others inhabiting between the Wolga and the Don, or Tanais, are said to have been Indians, who revolting from their sovereigns about the year 1212, emigrated and settled themselves on the Palus Meotis, near the Euxine sea, and extending their conquests to the river Don, and from thence at last to the Wolga, near which they inhabit at this day. The Nagayans are seated along the shores of the Caspian, from the river Iaick, to the Wolga. Astrachan, their principal city, they relate to have been built by a Tartar king, whose name being Astra, gave his city the name of Astra-chan, or king. Before this country was conquered by the Russians, it was inhabited altogether by Tartars, but now they are neither suffered to reside within this city, nor build a new one, nor fortify any of their towns or villages with walls.

The Nagayans live for the most part in round huts made of bull-rushes, or canes, and seldom exceed twelve or thirteen yards in circumference, with a hole at the top to let out the smoak ; yet the least of these huts has a falcon, or hawk, as those Tartars are great masters of this sport : they have hawks of all sorts and sizes, each bred to fly at different kinds of game. The Russians call the Nagayans, vagabonds,

The Nagayan Tartars manner of life.

BOOK VII. as they have no settled habitations in the summer, but ramble up and down. They pack up their huts in carts ; their wives, children, and goods, on camels, horses, and oxen ; and move about from one place to another, where they can find better pasturage for their cattle. When winter approaches, they begin to reassemble with their flocks, to pass it in several troops near Astrachan, where they are furnished with arms to repulse any inroads from the Kalmucks, or other Tartars from the River Iaick ; and as soon as the winter is over, they are obliged to return all their arms. They pay no tribute to the Russian emperor, but are obliged to serve him in his wars under their own commanders, as they are, in time of peace, governed by their own petty princes and judges. To secure their obedience to the emperor, he has always some of their princes, or myrzas, hostages in the castle of Astrachan.

Their religion is Mahometanism, of the same sect with the Turks, except some few who have embraced the religion of the Greek church : they are used to dedicate some of their children, like the Nazarites, to God or to some saint or other ; they are distinguished from the rest by a ring, which the boys wear in their right ear, and the girls in their nostril. They live upon what their cattle, hunting, and fishing supply them with. They make use of fish dried in the sun instead of bread, although they also make cakes of meal and rice ; they eat camels and horse flesh, and they hold mares milk in great esteem : their common drink is milk and water, yet, besides wine, hydromel (or mead), and brandy, they find indifferent good beer in Astrachan : their cattle are much the same with those of the Kalmucks. The Nagans

yans in their persons are handsomer than the Kalmucks, es- BOOK VII.
pecially their women ; the men wear a loose coat of some
coarse cloth, and over that a sort of cloak of sheep skin, the
woolly side outwards, with a cap of the same on their heads;
the cap is commonly of a black colour. Their women are
clad in white linen, with a plaited coif on their heads, both
sides of which is ornamented with a great many pieces of
silver coin, hanging down. The climate here is very hot ;
the heat in the months of September and October much ex-
ceeds the dog-days in Britain ; notwithstanding which, the
winter, which seldom continues longer than two months, is
so excessive cold, that this great river is frozen up, and the
ice strong enough to carry horses and sledges.

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On the west side of the Wolga, towards the Euxine Sea, Defarts near
lies a vast desert, above three hundred and fifty wersts in Astrachan,
length, and southward, along the shore of the Caspian, rich with salt.
another near four hundred wersts long ; on neither of which
stands city, town, or village, nor is there a hill or even a tree
to be seen in all this immense extent, only here and there a
little spot of grass ; neither is there any water, but what the
river Kisliar or some standing pools of salt water afford :
yet these very deserts are enriched with prodigious quantities of
salt ; for from ten to twenty wersts distance from Astrachan,
there are large salt veins, which being congealed by the sun,
swims on the surface of the water of the thicknes of a finger,
as clear and transparent as rock crystal, and smells like a vio-
let ; from hence all Russia is supplied with salt. The three
principal of these salts-pits, are called Mozakofski, Kain-
kowa, and Gostofski, where the salt is in such abundance,
that one may buy a hundred weight for two pence, on the

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spot.

BOOK VII. spot. It is carried to the Wolga, and from thence transported
to other parts.

^{1722.} Fruits at Astrachan. The Isle of Dolgoi, or Long Island, about Astrachan, and some other parts of this province, abound with most excellent fruits, yielding neither for beauty nor flavour to any, even those of Persia or the Indies ; their apples, quinces, nuts, peaches, and melons, exceed their other kinds in goodness, and especially the water-melon, the rhind of which is of a lively green colour, the meat carnation, and the seeds black, most pleasant to the eye and delicious to the palate, and are sold so very cheap as two for a penny, and so large that one is sufficient for two men, and so refreshing, that people in fevers may eat them without danger. It is not yet above one hundred years since the grape was seen in these parts, but the Persians having brought some setts of the vine to this place, they were first planted by a monk, a German by birth, in the garden belonging to his convent, situated in the suburbs of Astrachan ; this small stock has been since improved and encreased to that degree, that not only the walks and arbours of the gardens, but large vineyards are planted ; the grapes are so extraordinary large and plentiful, that the tables are not only liberally provided with excellent wine, both red and white, but made in such quantities that our army was now supplied with it. Besides this, there is to be found near Astrachan, and all along the Wolga, abundance of simples, which grow very large. The herb esula is here about as high as a man, and the angelica root as thick as a man's arm. About thirty wersts below Astrachan, is one of the best fisheries in the Wolga, and from which

which the city is plentifully furnished with salmon, sturgeon, ^{BOOK VII.} beluga, osotrin, sterlit, and many other kinds of delicious fish; and the small islands hereabouts abound with great variety of wild-fowl; and although the neighbouring countries are not fertile in corn, yet that defect is so well supplied from the fruitful country of Casan, that, taken altogether, this city may justly be reckoned one the most convenient and pleasant in Europe. But to return where I left off.

The day after my arrival here, I waited on his imperial majesty, and presented him with the three pieces of alabaster I had brought with me from Tenesowa, which pleased him so much, that he gave immediate orders to work that quarry, which proved to be most excellent of its kind. The emperor observed, when I had presented him with these pieces of alabaster, that no mineral of any kind whatever, had been discovered to him by any of his own subjects, but that many had been discovered to him by foreigners: but his majesty did not reflect upon the hardships those were put to upon whose lands any thing of that kind was found, as they not only lost the benefit of it, but were obliged to work the mine by their vassals, without the least emolument to themselves; which verifies the common saying they have in Russia, that *every thing they have belongs to God and their emperor.*

I was quartered, in this city, at the house of a widow, who had a maid servant that had been purchased as a slave from the Tartars: this servant had stolen several things from her mistress, which being found in her custody, she was severely punished for the theft; for which she threatened to be revenged on her mistress, who disregarded the menace at that time: however, she was seized, in a few days after, with

BOOK VII. such a fit of madness, that they were obliged to bind her; on which the girl disappeared, and in her chest were found a variety of herbs, roots, and powders; and upon the physicians examining into the nature of them, they soon found out the cause of the woman's disorder, and applying the proper remedy, she recovered her senses again. A party of Tartars brought back the slave, who, upon examination, confessed what she had done, pretending that she understood witchcraft, and could avenge herself on those who injured her: on which she was first whipt through the city, and delivered to the Tartars to sell her at some distance.

The Banayan
woman's
burning her-
self at her
husband's
death.

The Armenians have one of the suburbs of this city allotted for their residence, and carry on a great trade from hence into Persia; but the Banyans without doubt contribute most to its flourishing condition. They are a sort of Pagan Indians, whose principal pursuit is trade, and have their factory within the city. One of their chief merchants dying at this time, his widow desired leave of the emperor to burn herself with his corpse, according to the custom of their country: but his majesty, unwilling to encourage so barbarous a custom, refused her request, and the Indian factory were so much dissatisfied with it, that they threatened to withdraw from the city with their effects. His majesty finding no argument could prevail on the woman to alter her resolution, at last gave them leave to do as they thought proper. The corpse being dressed in his cloaths, was carried to some little distance from the town, where a funeral pile of dry wood was raised, and the body laid upon it: before the pile were hung Indian carpets, to prevent its being seen. The wife in her best apparel, and adorned with ear-rings, several

several rings on her fingers, and a pearl necklace, attended BOOK VII.
by a great number of Indians of both sexes, was led by a
bramin, or priest, to the funeral pile, which on her approach
was kindled : she then distributed her upper apparel and jewels
among her friends and acquaintances, of whom she took her
last farewell with a great deal of ceremony, and the pile being
in full flame, and the carpets taken down, she leaped into
the midst of the fire ; her friends then poured quantities of
oil over her, which soon suffocated her, and reduced both
corpse to ashes, which were carefully gathered and put into
an urn, to be conveyed to their relations in India.

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This barbarous custom was first introduced upon a political account; for polygamy, causing abundance of heart-burning and jealousy among the women that were rivals in their husband's affections, it often happened that such as thought themselves neglected, used frequently to procure their husband's deaths ; wherefore, to make them more careful of the lives of their husbands, it was ordered that those wives only, who were willing to accompany their husbands to the other world, by being burned with his corpse whenever he died, should have the reputation of being honest and virtuous ; and such as would not give that proof of their affection, should be deemed infamous for ever after the death of their husband. Notwithstanding the obligation to burn with their husbands, imposed no other penalty on such as refused than being accounted infamous for not conforming to such a dreadful custom, yet such was the sense of honour and love for reputation, among the Banyan women, that there are innumerable examples among them, of such as have voluntarily sacrificed.

BOOK VII. crifciced their lives upon the burning pile : and what makes them undergo this with so much chearfulness, is a persuasion,
^{1722.} that if a woman has so great an affection for her husband, as to burn herself with him after his death, she shall live with him in the other world seven times as long, and shall enjoy him with seven times as much satisfaction as she has done in this, without a rival ; so that they look upon this kind of death, as a paſſage through which they are to enter into the enjoyment of thoſe pleasures, of which they had but a ſmall ſhare of in this world. This cuſtom prevails only among the Banyans, and not in general over India.

India is inhabited by three diſtinct ſorts of people; firſt, the Indofans, who are the ancient natives of the country, an idle and a ſlovenly generation ; ſecondly, the Moguls, who came out of Grand Tartary, a warlike people, and much addiicted to arms ; theſe are all Mahometans ; thirdly, the Banyans, who came originally from China, and are all Pagans, and who apply themſelves entirely to manuſtacture and trade. The Banyans are incomparably more ingenious, subtle, and civil, than any of the other Indians : there is no trade in Persia, or the Turkish dominions, which is not principally managed by them, nor any commodity throughout all the Indies which they do not deal in. The Banyans are diſtinguished from thoſe who profess Mahometanism by their habit, for they do not wear their hair long, neither ſhave their heads, nor do their women cover their faces, as the Mahometans do. Black teeth are in ſo much esteem amongst them, that they call the white-teethed Europeans *bondra*, or apes. They wear no breeches, as the other Indians
 The Bany-
 ans.
 do

do, but only a piece of thin silk stuff, which is wrapped about them, hanging down to their hams, over which they wear their smocks, and on them their upper garment, which they tie with a girdle round the waist; under these a narrow waistcoat, the sleeves of which reach no farther than the elbow; they wear shoes of velvet, brocade, or gilt leather, fastened to their feet with straps, and they pull them off when they go into any room, where the floors are generally covered with tapestry, but when they walk abroad they wear wooden shoes.

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Their bramins, or priests, are distinguished from the rest only by what they wear about their heads, which is made of linen cloth, wrapped several times round the head to cover their *sacred hair*, which is never cut; they have also two pieces of packthread next their skin, crossing the breast from the shoulders to the waist, which they never put off, though it were to save their lives. They are, moreover, in such reputation for sanctity, that no marriage is holy where the bride has not been consecrated by the sacred initiation of the priest, to whom she is always conducted for that purpose; and he rates this part of his *holy office* at an exorbitant price, besides a strong solicitation to relieve the bridegroom from his drudgery; and thus the crafty priest, by imposing on the simplicity of his flock, improves his natural talent to the best advantage, and satisfies at once both his appetite and his avarice. But this is not all, for the husband retains so much pious regard for his co-partner, that if they go any journey, or upon any occasion are detained from home, he recommends his whole family, but
especi-

BOOK VII. especially his wife to the care of the priest in his absence,
— to supply his place till his return ; and the wife makes it
^{1722.} her care to cherish his languishing spirits with powerful re-
storatives, at which the Indian women are the most expert
of any in the world, as they are also perfect mistresses of
the easiest methods, upon certain occasions, of dispatching
their husbands to the other world. These are the accounts
I received at Astrachan.

B O O K VIII.

Army embark at Astrachan, 18th of July.—Variety of wild fowl on the little islands.—Terki, the capital city of Circassia.—Herring in the Caspian.—Voyage to Bystrow.—General Waterang's account from the province of Andreof.—Circassia and its inhabitants, their manners, religion, &c.—Continuation of the voyage and view of mount Caucasus, &c.—The army land at Agreechan.—March into Asia.—Kindness of the Dagestan Tartars.—The army pass the river Sulack.—General Waterang joins the army.—Embarassed on their march, and severe punishment on the officers of the guards.—Arrive at Tarku, with a description of the Dagestan Tartars.—Interview with the ladies.—The Dagestan ladies wait on the empress.—Erect a monument at Tarku, and march for Derbent through a fine country.—Sultan Udenaeb's cruelty, and its consequences.—Twenty desperate Tartars.—A beautiful Tartar youth slain.—Undaunted resolution of the priest.—Arrive at Derbent.—Description of the city.—Remarkable tombs.—Alexander and Melkebatura—Jackalls and sand hares.—Thirteen transports lost and buried in the sand.—Sack-ary bread.—Two expresses and one ambassador arrive at the army.—A Turkish ambassador obliges the emperor to return.—Occasion of the troubles in Persia.—The army return.—Cold nights.—Dangerous and harrassing march.—The new town of Svetago-Kreft.—Fort at the river Nitzi destroyed, and revenged.—The army re-imbark at Agreechan.—The provisions for the captain's galley left; a starving voyage.—Arrive at Astrachan the 15th of October.

General Waterang had been dispatched some time ago, BOOK VIII. through the great desert of Astrachan, with an army ————— of 7,000 dragoons, and 10,000 Cossacks, attended by 20,000 Kalmuck Tartars, with a very large train of camels to carry their provisions and water; and with orders to attack and destroy the province of Andreof, to revenge the many ravaging incursions made by them on the subjects of

BOOK VIII. Russia : the general was shortly after followed by 10,000
 ————— Cossacks and 20,000 Kalmuck Tartars more, to augment
^{1722.} his army, and enable him to complete the destruction of
 that province.

^{Army embark} On the 18th of July, our army embarked on board two-
 hundred and fifty gallies, attended by thirty-five store and
 hospital-ships ; our infantry consisted of 33,000 of those
 warlike veterans, who had been in every campaign during
 the long war with Sweden. We sat out from Astrachan the
 same evening, under a general salute from all the artillery of
 the city and fleet ; we dropt down with the stream all night,
 and arrived next day at the mouth of the river, which is
 sixty wersts from Astrachan, where we got sight of the Cas-
 pian for the first time. We went down the westernmost
 stream of the Wolga, which is the only one that can carry
 vessels of heavy burden ; the rest of the streams, which form
 a prodigious number of small islands, are to the eastward,
 and fall into the Caspian sea in thirty-two different channels.
 These islands feed a vast number of cattle in the summer ;
 and as they are all surrounded by vast quantities of thick
 tall reeds, the great number of wild fowl, especially sea-fowl,
 is past description ; upon firing of a gun, they rise in the
 air like a cloud, when numbers of them may be killed with
 great ease ; a greater variety is not to be seen any where in
 the known world. Besides swans and common wild geese,
 there is a very large kind called by the Russians *baba*, or
 crop-geese, and by others pelicans ; their bills being a foot
 and half long, and two inches broad, are forked at the
 ends ; some of these fowls, from the head to the feet, are
 above seven feet in length ; under their bills they have a

Variety of
wild fowl on
the little
islands.

shrievelled skin hanging, resembling a bag, which when book viii.
dilated, contains three gallons of liquor ; this bag they make
use of to hold the fish that they catch, which they afterwards eat at their leisure. There is another kind called spoon-geese ; their beaks are long and round, and at the extremity are flat like the mouth of a spoon beaten out ; this fowl, when it puts its beak in the water, makes a most hideous noise, somewhat like the braying of an ass : another kind, by some called the red geese, by others flamin-^{1712.}
gos, are in great flocks on the Caspian shores ; they walk after their leader in a very regular order, and at a distance appear not unlike a regiment of soldiers following their commander ; their legs are very long, of a scarlet red, and they have very long necks, the plumage of various colours, but their heads are like scarlet, their bodies are of different colours, beautifully variegated, and their wings scarlet ; it is in every respect a most beautiful bird ; they exceed in height a tall grenadier, with his cap on his head, yet their bodies are not much bigger than that of the swan : there are also black geese of the ordinary size, and this kind are no where else to be met with, and are preferable in taste to any of the other geese. As for wild ducks, their variety is incredible, and to describe their different kinds almost impossible. I cannot, however, pass over two of them without notice, which I thought the most extraordinary ; the one is called the scarlet-duck, from the colour of its feathers, which are shaded by other beautiful coloured feathers, and has upon its head a large tuft of feathers resembling a crown, intermixt with all the colours of the rainbow ; it is very large, and delicious eating ; the other is the yellow-duck,

BOOK VIII. whose feathers are entirely of that colour ; these are also very
 —————— large and fat and most excellent eating, and what is very un-
 —————— common, they build their nests on the tops of the highest
 1722. trees, and when their young come out of the shell, they
 carry them in their beaks to the water : no fowl is more es-
 teemed than these, for their delicious taste, or easier got, as
 they commonly betray themselves by the noise they make,
 which is heard at a great distance ; they are always in pairs,
 and when you kill the one you are sure of the other, as
 it never leaves its dead mate till you kill it also.

Terki, the ca-
pital of Cir-
cassia. On the 20th we weighed from the mouth of the Wolga,
 under the command of the great admiral Apraxin ; their
 majesties, the emperor and empress, having sailed before
 us for Terki, the capital city of Circassian Tartary, which
 is the most southern boundary of his majesty's present domi-
 nions : this city is strongly fortified, and stands on an island
 formed by the rivers Terki and Bustrow, and is garrisoned
 by two thousand regulars and one thousand Cossacks, who are
 all horsemen ; the native Circassians are not permitted to live
 near the city, but inhabit the country at some distance from it.
 The wind turning contrary, our fleet came to an anchor to-
 wards evening, and next day the wind being still foul, the
 whole fleet took to their oars, and keeping as near the shore
 as possible, for there is no coming nearer to it than four or
 five wersts, because of the shallowness of the water, and the
 whole shore even to that distance being overgrown with
 strong high reeds, which makes it impossible to land any
 where, even in a canoe. Towards night a favourable gale
 relieved the poor wearied soldiers, who had rowed hard all
 day. The wind continued favourable all night : at one o'clock

i.n.

in the morning we had heavy rain, with thunder and lightning. The weather cleared up on the morning of the 22d ; and as the wind continued in our favour, we sailed all this day in sight of the shore, and came to an anchor at night near Labugin, in ten feet water. This day afforded us an amusing entertainment, with a kind of fish of the size and shape of a herring; they swam and skipped on the surface of the water continually, without offering to go down, notwithstanding we pursued and killed numbers of them: we concluded it was their constant way of living, but having baited some hooks with them, we caught a sturgeon and two belugas, which convinced us that they fled to the surface to escape the pursuit of the fish of prey, in the same manner as the flying-fish rise to escape the pursuit of the dolphin: these little fish have exactly the shape and taste of herrings, and I am persuaded they are nothing else.

Herrings in
the Caspian.
1722.

Early in the morning of the 23d, we weighed again, Voyage to
Baltrow. with the wind still fair, and got out of sight of land; and in the afternoon our division lost sight of the admiral, which gave us no small trouble as we had neither pilot nor compass on board, (indeed the rest of the fleet laboured under the same inconveniency), and when the night came, not knowing how to steer, we dropt anchor in eighteen feet water, and waited the return of day-light. Early in the morning of the 24th, we got under way again, and about noon got sight of the land, to the great joy of every body on board, as it was the only rule for the direction of our course; but the wind being against us, we were obliged to have recourse to the oar, and rowing along the coast, which was still closely covered,

BOOK VIII covered with strong reeds, above two wersts from the land,

2722. which made it impracticable to land any where on this coast,
 except in the mouth of a river. At night a signal was made
 by our commanding officer, to come to an anchor, which
 we did in nine feet water, where we caught very good fish
 of several kinds. At day break of the 25th, by signal,
 we got under way with the oar, the wind being contrary,
 still rowing as near the reeds as possible: several of the gal-
 lies sent out their pinnaces to the reeds, when on firing of a
 musket such multitudes of different sorts of water-fowl rose,
 that they killed great numbers of them. At night we came
 again to an anchor in fourteen feet water, after a hard day's
 labour. The wind proving fair in the morning of the 26th,
 we got early under way, and towards the evening arrived
 in the mouth of the river Bustrow, which flows by the city
 of Terki, situated three wersts from the shore, and here we
 found the rest of the fleet which had kept up with the ad-
 miral.

General Waterang's account from the Province of Andreof.

While we were here, his majesty received accounts from general Waterang, with the agreeable news that he had de- feated and cut to pieces a body of five thousand men, of the province of Andreof, and that he had burnt and de- stroyed their capital city, laid the whole province waste, and carried off all the inhabitants that he could meet with, old and young of both sexes, amounting to many thousands ; and sent them to Astrachan under the escort of five thousand Cossacks, and fifteen thousand Kalmucks ; and had besides given liberty to several thousand Russian slaves of both sexes, who were then on their way to Terki, to be transported
 from

from thence by sea to Astrachan. For this signal success, book viii.
we had orders to fire three volleys, from all our guns and —————
small arms.

1722.

I cannot here omit giving some farther description of Circassia and its inhabitants. Terki, the principal city, is seated in a very spacious plain, very swampy towards the sea-side, in 43 deg. 23 min. north latitude: it is about three wersts in compass, well fortified with ramparts and bastions in the modern style, well stored with cannon, and has always a considerable garrison in it, under the command of a governor. The Circassian prince who resides here, is allowed five hundred Russians for his guard, but none of his own subjects are permitted to dwell within any part of the fortifications. Ever since the reduction of those parts to the obedience of Russia, they have put in all places of strength, not only Russian garrisons and governors, but magistrates, and priests for the exercise of the Christian religion; yet the Circassian Tartars are governed by their own princes, lords, and judges, but these administer justice in the name of the emperor, and in matters of importance, not without the presence of the Russian governors, being all obliged to take the oath of allegiance to his imperial majesty. The apparel of the men of Circassia is much the same with that of the Nagayans, only their caps is something larger and their cloaks, being likewise of coarse cloth or sheep skins, are fastened only at the neck with a string, and as they are not large enough to cover the whole body, they turn them round according to the wind and weather. The men here are much better favoured than those of Nagaya, and the women extremely well shaped, with exceeding fine features, smooth clear complexions, and beau-

BOOK VIII. beautiful black eyes, which with their black hair hanging in two tresses, one on each side the face, give them a most ^{1722.} lovely appearance ; they wear a black coif on their heads, covered with a fine white cloth tied under the chin : during the summer they all wear only a smock of divers colours, and that open so low before, that one may see below their navels ; this with their beautiful faces always uncovered, (contrary to the custom of most of the other provinces in these parts), their good humour and lively freedom in conversation, altogether render them very desirable : notwithstanding which they have the reputation of being very chaste, though they seldom want opportunity ; for it is an established point of good manners among them, as soon as any person comes in to speak to the wife, the husband goes out of the house : but whether this contynency of their's proceeds from their own generosity, to recompence their husbands for the confidence they put in them, or has its foundation only in fame, I pretend not to determine. Their language they have in common with the other neighbouring Tartars, although the chief people among them are also not ignorant of the Russian ; their religion is Paganism, for notwithstanding they use circumcision among them, they have neither priest, alcoran, or mosque, like other Mahometans. Every body here offers his own sacrifice at pleasure, for which, however, they have certain days established rather by custom, than any positive command : their most solemn sacrifice is offered at the death of their nearest friends, upon which occasion both men and women meet in the field to be present at the offering, which is an he-goat ; and having killed, they flay it, and stretch the skin with the head and

horns on, upon a cross at the top of a long pole, placed BOOK VIII.
commonly in a quickset hedge, (to keep the cattle from it), —————
and near the place the sacrifice is offered by boiling and
roasting the flesh, which they afterwards eat. When the
feast is over, the men rise, and having paid their adoration to
the skin, and muttered over some certain prayers, the women
withdraw, and the men conclude the ceremony with drink-
ing a great quantity of aqua vitæ, and this generally ends
in a quarrel before they part. The river Bustrow is the
southern boundary of Circassia; and the province of Andreof
are their next neighbours, who dwell between the river
Koisu, which rises out of Mount Caucasus, and the Bustrow.
Those people were reduced by general Waterang.

1722.

Their majesties having embarked on the evening of the 26th, the fleet sailed early in the morning of the 27th, with a very favourable breeze, and passed the island of Trenzini, and soon after we saw land on both sides of us, occasioned by a peninsula which formed a large bay, upwards of forty wersts long, and here we had the first view of the high mountains of Caucasus, which seem to hide their heads in the clouds. The mountains of Taurus and Arrarat, are so contiguous to the Caucasus, that they appear like a continuation of the same mountain, which crosses all Asia, from Andreof, or Mongrelia, to the Indies. Mount Arrarat is one entire vast rock, exceeding even Caucasus itself in height, its top being covered with snow all the year round. It is said to be the same on which the ark rested after the Deluge. The Armenians, who call it Messina, believe there are still some fragments of that ark on this mountain, but that by the length of time they were all petrified; which must now re-

Continuation
of the voy-
age, and
view of
Mount Cau-
casus, &c.

BOOK VIII. main uncertain, as the mountain is inaccessible from the surrounding precipices. Those high mountains are of great use to mariners in these parts of the Caspian, as most of them have very little knowledge of the compass ; the different appearances they make toward the sea, serve as an instruction to the pilots in determining whereabout they are. But to return to our voyage :—we arrived the same evening in the mouth of the river Agrechan, where we anchored for the night, when we had rain, thunder, and lightning.

The Army
land at Agre-
chan.

By a signal from the great admiral, early in the morning of the 28th, we began to land our troops, which was performed with much difficulty. By reason of the shoal water, our gallies could not come within a considerable distance to the shore, and the men were obliged to carry their arms, ammunition, baggage, and provisions, a long way in the water on their backs ; the unloaded vessels were all hauled up on the shore, and a strong entrenchment thrown up about them for their security, under the guard of a colonel and six hundred men, with all our sick, who were afterwards reinforced with a thousand Cossacks from general Waterang's army. Here a great number of Circassian and Dagestan Tartars came to us, with little waggons, horses, camels, and oxen to sell, and being well convinced we could not well proceed without such accommodation, they took advantage of our necessity, and made us pay what they pleased to demand for them. I bought a waggon and two horses for my baggage, and one to ride on, for which I was obliged to pay six times their value.

March into Asia. We remained here till the 4th of August, when we decamped, and began our first march in Asia : the heat was so

so intolerable, that numbers of our men dropt down by the way, and notwithstanding that, we marched twenty-five wersts this day, and arrived on the banks of the river Sulack at night. On the 5th we marched ten wersts farther up the river, to a place intended to ferry over our army ; on our march we were met by the shafkal, or prince, of Tarku, the chief of the Dagestan Tartars, who was attended by a very grand retinue, and welcomed his imperial majesty into the Dagestan territories, and offered his assistance to the utmost of his power ; his subjects, at the same, brought us all manner of refreshments for the army. After our army passed by him in good order, he seemed to be much surprised at the regularity and fine discipline he observed they were under, having never seen any regular troops before ; and after seeing our camp formed, he left us seemingly well pleased. The Tartars brought such quantities of grapes, melons, oranges, pomgranates, apples, pears, &c. to the camp, and our people devoured them so voraciously, that many were seized with fevers and fluxes ; on which no fruit was permitted to be brought into the army. Here we found several small boats, of which we made two ferries to waft the army over the Sulack.

On the 6th his majesty past over with his own division and some other regiments, and formed a camp on the other side, and in the evening the governor of Gorski, and the governor of Axay, two Dagestan princes, came to wait upon his majesty : the first brought him a present of three fine Persian horses, with rich furniture, and six hundred waggons for the baggage, each drawn by two oxen, besides fifty fat oxen to kill for the army : the latter presented his majesty

^{1722.}
Kindness of
the Dagestan
Tartars.

The army
pafs the river
Sulack.

BOOK VIII. with six fine Persian horses, with very rich furniture, and
 one hundred oxen for the army; recommending themselves

^{1722.} and their country to his majesty's protection. The next day we had such a violent storm of wind, that it blew down all our tents, and made the river swell to that degree, that it overflowed its banks, and we were obliged to remove at some distance from it; several men who were crossing at that time, were drowned in their passage: our ferries got so much damage by this storm, that we did not get all the army over

General Waterang joins the army.

before the 10th, when we were joined by general Waterang, with his dragoons and Cossacks, and one thousand of the latter were immediately sent back to reinforce those left in the entrenchments, that covered our gallies at the mouth of the river Agreechan. The general brought with him prisoner, the chief of the province of Andreof, whom the emperor caused to be hanged up the same day, for an example to others. This irritated the other chiefs of the Dagestans to such a degree, that they were determined to be revenged, which brought us into no small trouble.

^{Embarassed in their march, and severe punishment on the officers of}

We began to march again on the 11th, with one half of the dragoons and Cossacks for our advanced guard, and the other half to cover our rear; and went thirty wersts that day, notwithstanding the intense heat, which made many of our men drop by the way. When we halted in the middle of the day, we discovered great numbers of armed men on horseback riding on the sides of the mountains: his majesty was at that time in the rear, and riding along the army, enquired of the men if their pieces were loaded; and being informed they were not, he gave orders himself to load them, ordering, at the same time, all the officers of his own division

division to meet at the head of the grenadier company, where BOOK VIII.
having met, he harangued and reprimanded us severely —————
for neglect of duty; we were then disarmed, and our
swords, (viz. the field officers, who were at the same time
generals, and all the captains,) were put all together into a
waggon; the field-officers were ordered to march on foot
in one rank, and the captains were formed in three ranks
behind them, and every officer was loaded with four muskets
on his shoulders; in this posture we marched near two hours
in the most intolerable heat, when the empress being in-
formed of our miserable situation, came up in her chariot
with the utmost haste, and pleaded so effectually in our
favour, that we were relieved from our heavy burdens, had
our swords restored, and were admitted to kiss his majesty's
hand, who told us, that he had only punished the officers of
his own guards, because they ought to give a good example
to all the rest of the army.—This was discipline with a
vengeance.—The poor captain of the grenadiers died the
next day of the fatigue, being a corpulent man, and several
others sickened, some of whom died also. We lost several
horses this day by their eating a poisonous herb and want of
water; but none of the camels or oxen were affected, and
I concluded they had not eat any of it.

On the 12th, we reached the city of Tarku, ten wersts; Arrive at
the shafkal met the emperor half-way, and conducted him
to the city; it stands on the side of a hill, quite open, with-
out any walls, and our army encamped on a spacious plain
below the town. Being now arrived at the capital of Da-
gestan Tartary, I shall endeavour to give some description
of the province and city, from the best information I could
obtain,

Tarku, a de-
scription of
the Dagestan
Tartars.

BOOK VIII. obtain. Their territory reaches from the river Bustrow, their boundary with Circassia, all along mount Caucasus, as far as Derbent, and they are neither subject to the Turk nor the Persian, but are in general governed by the shafkal, who is their supreme head : his office is not hereditary but elective. The whole country of Dagestan is divided into small districts, or lordships, each under the jurisdiction of its proper lord, or myrza, who, though hereditary, is nevertheless not absolute, but his authority is controlled by that of some of the chief men among them. All these petty lords acknowledge one whom they call shafkal as supreme head, to whom they pay their respect, but not passive obedience. These people are generally very mischievous, barbarous, and savage, living for the most part by robbery and plunder ; a great part of their livelihood is for the men to steal children, not sparing even those of their own nearest relations, whom they sell to the neighbouring Persians, leaving the care of their cattle to their wives in their absence. They are called Dagestans, from the word *Dag*, which signifies in their language, a mountain, and are from thence called mountaineers ; they pretend to be the descendants of the Amazons, and firmly believe that Thalestris, the queen of the Amazons, went from hence to Hircania on a visit to Alexander the Great, to obtain that favour which ladies, although ever so desirous of, seldom care to beg. The Dagestans are all Mahometans, using circumcision and all the other ceremonies of the Turks. Their habit is a long close coat, commonly of a dark grey, or black, coarse cloth, over which they wear a cloak of the same stuff ; and in winter, of sheep skins : they wear a square cap of a great many pieces sewed together ;

their shoes are for the most part made of horses hides, BOOK VIII.
sewed together only at the instep; the poorest man
among them is provided with a coat of mail, head-
piece, and buckler, besides a scymitar, javelin, bow and
arrows.

This city of Tarku, being the metropolis of Dagestan,
Interview with the ladies.
contains above three thousand houses, and is very full of
inhabitants; the houses all two stories high, platformed
at top, standing close to each other: the women walk
upon them in the cool of the evenings, as the men do in
the streets. Every house has a garden stored with all kinds
of delicious fruits, and all well supplied with fine springs of
water: as for their women, they are incomparably beautiful,
both in feature and shape, with a fair clear complexion,
accompanied with lovely black eyes and hair; but as the
men are very jealous, they are always locked up, so that it
is no easy matter to get sight of them; and I believe we
should not have seen any of them if it had not happened
twice by accident. We had the liberty to go into the city
to buy necessaries, and were ordered on these occasions to
go in strong parties and well armed, for we placed no great
confidence in the fidelity of the inhabitants; and being in
town one day with several officers, well escorted, we saw
one of the principal inhabitants going into his house, when
we made bold to throng in with him much against his
inclination; but, being informed by our interpreter, that we
were officers of rank, and that we begged the favour he
would indulge our curiosity by shewing us the inside of his
house, he at last reluctantly consented, and led us into his
apartments; the floors were all covered with very fine Per-
sian

BOOK VIII. sian tapestry, without any other kind of ornament, excepting
some fine mattrasses, and silk quilts, upon which they lie at
night ; they have neither chairs nor tables, but all sit or lie
on the floor : instead of glass in the windows, they have
blinds, very curiously checkered of plaited reed, through
which they can see what passes in the street without being
seen within ; the walls and cielings are all white, without
any ornament. After this he led us into a square court,
divided in the middle by a high wall, which separated his
own apartments from those of the women ; having shewed
us also his garden, very well stored with all kinds of fruit,
he invited us to sit down with him on a sofa under a piazza,
and entertained us with coffee, fruits, and sweet-meats ;
when captain Brunie, one of our company, shewed him
a very pretty shaving-glaſs he carried in his pocket, and
observing he was much pleased with it, the captain made
him a present of it, which seemed to ingratiate us with
him. After some conversation with our host, we begged
the favour of him to let us see his women in their dress,
only at a distance ; to which, though unwillingly, he at last
consented, and went himself to their apartments to order
them to get themselves ready, as we apprehended, and re-
turning presently, he sat down again and conversed some
time with us. He then went again, and brought out four of his
wives, and eight of his concubines, and placed them all in
a row that we might have a full view of them, in which
posture he left them standing, and returning himself to the
sofa, he sat down with us : the ladies, however, seemingly
displeased to be gazed at, at such a distance, advanced with
one accord, and seated themselves upon the sofa opposite to
us,

us, at which forwardness our host seemed not at all pleased, BOOK VIII.
and they, not regarding him in the least, examined our dress
very narrowly, and put a great many questions to us, by our
interpreter, especially relating to the customs and dress of
our women, and how many women were allowed in our
country to each man ; on their being informed that no man
was allowed to have more than one wife, and that the wo-
men had the same liberty as the men to walk abroad and vi-
sit their neighbours ; they clapped their hands, and cried
out with emotion, “ O ! happy, happy country ! ” Our
host not being at all pleased with their conduct, ordered them
immediately to their apartments, and they obeyed with much
reluctance. They were all most lovely creatures, but the
concubines excelled the wives in beauty ; the reason is ob-
vious, for they are married to their wives by proxy, and the
others they take from choice. After some short stay we took
our leave, having invited our host to come next day and
see us in the camp ; upon his coming we entertained him
very handsomely, and he appeared to be most delighted with
our regimental music ; and he told us at his taking leave,
that as we had shewn him so much politeness and civility,
we should always be welcome to his house while we staid
in those parts ; but although we attempted it we never could
again obtain admission.

The next view we got of the Dagestan ladies was at the empress's tent ; the shafkal's ladies, attended by other ladies of rank and fashion, came to wait on her majesty ; they came so close shut up in coaches that they could not be seen ; when they arrived at the empress's tent, they were seated on cushions of crimson velvet, laid on Persian carpets, that

The Dagestan ladies wait on the empress.

BOOK VIII. were spread upon the ground, and there they sat cross-legged according to their custom. After they were seated,
1722. the empress gave orders that the officers should be admitted to see the ladies, who were, indeed, all of them extremely lovely ; her majesty had ordered, that when one company of the officers had gratified their curiosity, they should retire and make way for others ; by which means the visit of the ladies lasted till it was pretty late at night, when they were attended back to the city by her servants, with abundance of torches, highly pleased with their reception ; and not only being informed, but also seeing how unconfined our women live, they certainly were as much taken with it as those of our host ; and I dare say, if we could have beat up for volunteers among those lovely daughters of the Amazons, their men would now have been left as womenless as they were in those ancient times.

Erect a monument at Tarku, and march for Derbent.

His majesty's manifestos having been published, not only throughout Dagestan, but also at Derbent, Backu, and Shamachie ; letters were received from Derbent, on the 15th, with assurances, that the manifestoes were received with great joy there, and that they would, with the utmost pleasure, put themselves under the emperor's protection whenever he arrived there with his army. Upon this news it was ordered, that every person belonging to the army, from the highest to the lowest, should bring a stone of the middling size, into the middle of the camp, where a cross was erected, round which they were piled up for a lasting memorial, I suppose, and after this divine service was performed. We broke up on the 16th, and marched twenty-five wersts, in a scorching heat, to the river Manas, which afforded us

plenty of water, but we could get no forage, and were obliged to send our horses in among the mountains for grass, where great numbers of them were taken and carried off by the Tartars, and among the rest all my three horses: When we moyed next day, the 17th, general Waterang was so good as to order two dragoons to dismount, and yoke their horses to my baggage-waggon, but I was, myself, reduced to walk on foot, which was extremely fatiguing in that hot climate. Madam Campenhausen, one of her majesty's ladies of honour, observing me marching on foot before my company, sent in the evening to enquire the reason, and being told my misfortune, was so kind as to acquaint the empress with it, who was graciously pleased to order her equerry to give me a horse with furniture; and his majesty being informed of my necessity, gave orders to provide me with another, so that I was again mounted, and my servant also, on horseback: that night, however, I bought two camels for my baggage, at fifteen rubles each, and gave my waggon to one of my officers who was in want of one: I was soon fully convinced of the usefulness of the camels, who not only carry heavy burdens, but feed where no horse can subsist; and can live several days without water, if they get but a handful of salt in lieu of it. This day we passed the river Manas, and at no great distance from it, the river Boinack, over a stone bridge, and encamped for the night at Old Boinack, having marched thirty wersts, and come through large fields of cotton and saffron. We lost this day a number of horses by heat, fatigue, and want of forage. It is to be observed of this country, that the summer is so excessively hot, and all the grass is so entirely

BOOK VIII. withered and scorched up, that the inhabitants are obliged
 —————— to feed their cattle with hay, which they provide in the winter
^{1722.} when the country abounds with grass and pasture. From
 this place his majesty dispatched three Cossacks, with a guide,
 to sultan Udenich, who lived at some distance among the
 mountains, requiring him to send a deputation in order to a
 conference, and desiring him to supply the army with beasts
 of burden, to transport our baggage to Derbent.

Sultan Ude-nich's cruelty and its conse-
quences. On the 18th we marched twenty-five wersts, and encamped
 on the banks of the river Nitzi, where the guide returned to
 us, with sultan Udenich's answer, having his nose and both
 ears cut off, and informed his majesty that they had, in his
 presence, put the three Cossacks to death, in a most cruel
 and barbarous manner: the sultan bade him tell the emperor,
 that whoever of his people fell into his hands they should
 be treated in the same manner, and as to the desired con-
 ference, they were ready to hold it with their scymitars in
 their hands.

On the 19th, the Tartars appeared on the side of the hill,
 about twelve thousand strong, to put their threats in exe-
 cution; and as we were sufficiently on our guard by the re-
 turn of the messenger, the army was immediately under arms
 without striking their tents, and his majesty marched in per-
 son toward the enemy with only his own division, which con-
 sisted of six battalions, ordering only a part of the army to
 follow. Upon our approaching the foot of the hill, we fired
 smartly on each other, without much damage on either side,
 and as they stood upon a very high eminence, we could not
 bring our cannon to bear on them; the emperor perceiving
 they kept their station without advancing towards us, or-
 dered

dered the dragoons and Cossacks to march round, and attack them upon the hill, which they did with great expedition, and as they ascended the declivity we saw them all the way, but they were not discovered by the enemy till they were close at their backs, when a great slaughter ensued, and the Tartars fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving between six and seven hundred men dead on the spot, and forty were taken prisoners; among whom were some persons of distinction, and their Mahometan priest, who had been one of their principal leaders, and not only advised but perpetrated with his own hands, that horrid cruel murder of the three Cossacks, cutting open their breasts while they were yet alive, and taking out their hearts, and whose bodies were afterwards found stuck upon stakes near the sultan's palace, by our dragoons who pursued the enemy to the very gates, which they also entered, putting every one they met with to the sword, amounting to upwards of three thousand men; for they had sent away their women and children to the mountains, before they sat out on this expedition, in which, besides the slain, the sultan's residence and six other villages were burnt and entirely destroyed.

In the pursuit, a party of the dragoons had driven twenty Tartars into a narrow place, from which there was no possibility of escaping, and finding themselves so closely hemmed in, they fell on their knees, and offered, in this supplicating posture, to deliver up their fire arms with the butt ends foremost, upon which twenty of the dragoons were ordered to dismount and secure them; but upon their approach, these desperadoes rose up and threw their javelins, and killed every one of the dragoons, and then made so bold an attack with their scymitars in their hands, that they wounded.

Twenty de-
perate Tar-
tars.

BOOK VIII. wounded several more, not giving over till they were every one cut to pieces.

1722.

General Romantzof was ordered to march with our six battalions, to assist the dragoons in destroying the sultan's residence, and on our way we were attacked by a body of six hundred horse, who were coming from a neighbouring chief to Udenich's assistance. In their attack they advanced and retired in a very uncommon manner: they were formed only twelve in front, but fifty in depth, following each other with their drawn scymitars; when the front ranks had made an attempt on our screwed bayonets, they wheeled about and placed themselves again in the rear; having continued to attack us in this manner near half an hour, they thought proper to march off with the loss of several men and horses killed and wounded. In this attack one of their commanders who had distinguished himself with superior courage and activity, made frequent attempts and wounded two of our men: general Romantzof observing him, and seeing me with a rifle-piece in my hand, desired I would endeavour to bring him down, which I did at his next attack, by shooting him through the thigh, and he tumbled from his horse, which with his own person was immediately secured. The general was pleased to make me a present of his horse and furniture, with his scymitar, bow and arrows; the bridle and furniture were overlaid with studs of gilt silver, the handle and scabbard of the scymitar, with the same in filigree work; the horse I sold for sixty ducats, the scymitar, bow and arrows, I brought with me to Britain, and still have them in my possession. By this means general Romantzof made me some amends for the horse and furniture left me by marshal

marshal Weyde, which had been detained from me as I BOOK VIII.
mentioned formerly. This renounter being ended, we con-
tinued our march toward Udenich's residence, and found
all the way we went, the road strewed with dead bodies,
which had been killed by our dragoons in the pursuit ; and
among the rest a youth between eighteen and twenty years ^{1722.} A beautiful
of age, whose head had been but newly cut off : the beauty ^{Tartar youth} slain.
of his face and person were, even in death, so extraordinary,
that every one stood to look on him as they past the corpse,
declaring they had never seen any one comparable to him ;
but as the admiration of this corpse retarded our march,
the general ordered the body to be removed out of the way.
After having marched about fifteen wersts, we were met
by the dragoons and Cossacks on their return, richly laden
with plunder ; and general Waterang having informed Ro-
mantzof that all was over and completely finished, we re-
turned all together in one body, and on our arriving at the
eminence where the enemy made their first appearance, we
found twenty-one of the prisoners hung up by way of re-
prisal, for the cruel death of our three Cossacks : one of
the prisoners was sent back to sultan Udenich, with his
nose and ears cut off, with a letter reproaching him with
his savage cruelty toward our innocent messengers. The
priest was quartered for his inhuman bárbarity.

While this detachment were absent on that service, lord ^{Undaunted} Apraxin, who commanded the army in chief, had ^{resolution of} the priest..
been examining some of the prisoners, and asking them why
they had put our innocent messengers to so cruel a death,
they replied that they knew nothing farther about it, but
that it was done by their sultan's orders at the instigation
of

BOOK VIII. of the priest : the priest being thereupon interrogated, very boldly answered, that he would have done the same to every one of our people whom he could have got in his power, to revenge the treatment the Tartars of Andreof had received from us, whose chief we had put to so ignominious a death, and whose friends and allies they were ; besides, they were a free nation, and would subject themselves to no prince on earth. The admiral then asked him how they could venture to attack so numerous and regular an army, who were so far superior to any force they could raise, and all the assistance they could expect from their neighbours ; to which the priest replied, that they were not at all afraid of our foot soldiers, who were not able to follow them into mountains, and as to the Cossacks they had been used to beat them often on former occasions : but what disconcerted them most was our blue coats, (meaning the dragoons), who kept so close together on horseback. He then told the admiral to ask him no more questions, for he was fully determined not to answer any, and that he neither asked nor expected any favour from such Christian dogs ; upon which he was taken away. Another prisoner being brought before the admiral's tent to be examined, he would give no answer to any question that was put to him, on which he was ordered to be stripped and whipped ; but on receiving the first lash, he snatched a sword from an officer's side, and flew with it towards the admiral, whom he would certainly have killed, had not the two centries before the tent, run him through the body with their bayonets ; and even after he fell he pulled the musket out of the hands of one of the centries, who in struggling to wrest it from him, had a large piece of

flesh bit out of his arm by this desperate fellow, who was soon dispatched. His majesty coming up at this time, —
the admiral told him that he was certainly come into this country to be devoured by mad dogs, having never had such a fright before in his whole life: the emperor replied, smiling, if the people of this country understood the art of war, it would be impossible for any nation to cope with them.

The emperor, with a view to keep these people in awe, ordered a fort to be erected on the river Nitzi, under the direction of baron Renne, lieutenant of the guards, as engineer, and all the Kalmuck Tartars, with some Cossacks, were left to cover and protect the works.

The army moved again on the 21st, and marching all the way through vineyards and orchards, we came at night to the river Durback, twenty wersts. Here we were met by a messenger, with a handsome retinue, from the strong city of Buku, to congratulate his majesty on his safe arrival in those parts; recommending themselves and their city to his protection; earnestly requesting to be relieved from Myr Maghmud the usurper, against whom they had found means to defend themselves the two years last past, and beseeching the emperor to hasten to their relief.

We marched again on the 22d, through orchards and vineyards, fifteen wersts, when we arrived at a small river, where we found plenty of grass, having suffered greatly for want of it all the way from Tarku to this place; and next day, the 23d, we continued our route through these delightful vineyards, fifteen wersts, to Derbent. His majesty was met half way by the governor and principal citizens, who

Arrive at
Derbent.

BOOK VIII. presented him with the keys of their city, offering, at the same time, to admit his troops into the citadel, to garrison it ^{1722.} for the protection of their city, which had defended itself a considerable time against the arms of the usurper Magh-mud: this generous offer met a very gracious reception. We marched through the city the same day, under a triple salvo of all their artillery, and encamped on the south side of the town, being now entered for the first time into Persia. We could now plainly see Mount Arrarat from our camp, rearing his summit far above the rest of the Caucasus. The emperor now appointed a governor and three thousand men to garrison the castle, to whom the inhabitants with much joy, gave the immediate possession of, as they were thereby relieved from the fatigues and hardships they had so long undergone, in defending their city against the forces of the usurper: On the ramparts were mounted one hundred iron, and sixty brass cannon, twelve and nine pounders, with large store of ammunition. At a small distance on each side of the castle, stands a high watch tower, from which they can discover the approach of an enemy at a great distance.

Description
of the city.

The city of Derbent, in the province of Shirvan, lies in 41 deg. 51 min. north latitude, is situated on the shore of the Caspian; the walls are carried into ten feet depth of water, to prevent any one's passing that way; its length from east to west, is nearly five wersts, but its breadth is not proportionable. It is not only the frontier of Persia, lying on its utmost confines on this side, but may with great propriety be called the gate of it, reaching from the mountain into the sea. The city is divided into three distinct quarters;

ters ; the castle, situated upon the top of the mountain, had always a strong Persian garrison. The second, and principal, reaches from the foot of the mountain to the lower town, which makes the third, and reaches to the sea-side. This last, which was formerly inhabited by Greeks, is not now much frequented, being for the most part converted into gardens, since the place was regained from the Turks. The whole city is inclosed with a very strong wall, so broad that a waggon may drive along the top of it without the least inconvenience, and flanked with square towers at proper distances. The walls are built with large square stones, which appear like a heap of sea-shells cemented together, yet are hard and durable as marble, and when polished look extremely beautiful. Most of the quarries in the Caucasus, are of this kind of stone. The houses are built and furnished in the same manner as those of Tarku ; the inhabitants are all Mahometans, except some Jews, whose chief business is trading in stolen children, brought to market here by the neighbouring Tartars of Dagestan ; or some Turkish or Russian captives, which they pick up on some of their excursions, which the Jews carry farther into Persia, and dispose of.

The mountain above the city, which is for the most part covered with wood, presents us with the ruins of a very ancient wall, which, if any credit can be given to the tradition of the natives, had formerly a communication all the way to the Euxine sea, through an extent of country near three hundred wersts in length : this much, however is certain, the ruins of it still appear in some places six feet high, in others two or three, and in others the track of it is

BOOK VIII. quite lost. On some of the adjacent hills are also to be seen

 1722. the ruins of several old castles, of a square form, two of
 which remaining undemolished to this day, are garrisoned by
 the Persians. The natives in general are of opinion, that the
 city of Derbent was built by Alexander the Great, and that
 the long wall, which reached to the Euxine, was built by
 his order, to prevent the incursions of the Scythians into
 Persia.

Remarkable
tombs.

Near to our camp we saw some thousands of tombs, covered with stones half round (cylindrical) but exceeding the ordinary stature of men, having all of them Arabic inscriptions. The report is, that in former ages, (yet since the time of Mahomet), there was a certain king in Media, named Kaffan, received a signal defeat in a battle he fought against the Dagestan Tartars at this place, and that the bodies of his officers, slain in the battle, were buried in these tombs. The relation seems not to be altogether fictitious, there being at some small distance, near the sea, forty other tombs exceeding those in bigness, inclosed by a wall, which having each its banner, are said to be the sepulchres of so many lords of the first rank, and other holy men who accompanied them: here both Persians and Tartars, of both sexes, come to pay their devotions, by kissing those sepulchres, and laying their hands on them while they are at prayers.

Alexander
and Melke-
hatun.

The inhabitants of Derbent have an old tradition among them, concerning Alexander the Great and Melkehatur, a widow sultana, in the province of Irvan. On an expedition into those parts, Alexander went as his own ambassador to the city of Berda, where the sultana resided, to demand a surrender of herself, her city, and country, to the
 discre-

discretion of the conqueror : Melkihatun being a woman of BOOK VIII.
curiosity and taste, had some time before procured a pic-
ture of Alexander, drawn from the life, so that he had
no sooner presented himself before her than she knew him :
having delivered his message, she desired him to dine with
her, after which he should receive his answer to carry to
the king his master ; upon which he was carried into a great
hall, where a table was covered with gold and silver, and
the side dishes of gold plate were full of her jewels. The
great conqueror being seated with the queen, she earnestly
pressed him to eat, at which the great Alexander was very
much surprised, and asked the queen if her table could af-
ford no other victuals than what he saw before him, for these
would not allay his hunger : she said,—“ O ! Alexander, I
“ thought you could live on nothing else, since for the sake
“ of riches, you have laid so many countries waste, and left
“ the poor inhabitants to perish for want : you see now, if
“ you had all the treasure this world affords, and had no
“ victuals, you must perish.” Here she ordered a curtain
to be drawn aside, which discovered his own picture, that
hung just opposite to him, thereby shewing him by what
means she knew him ; telling him, that notwithstanding he
was now in her power, she would present him with all her
treasure, as she found that riches were his only motive for
ransacking the world ; begging, in return, that she and her
subjects might be allowed to cultivate and enjoy their land
in peace. The behaviour and wise discourse of the queen
so pleased the great Alexander, that he granted her what she
could ask or desire, without accepting any of her presents,
except her picture ; and after being regaled with substantial
victuals,

BOOK VIII. viuctuals, he departed very well satisfied with the lady and her entertainment. They say he then proceeded to the province of Shirwan, and laid the foundation of Derbent, and gave order that a wall should be built from thence to the Euxine sea, with watch-towers at every mile's distance, which was accordingly executed. They also say, it was at Derbent where he received a visit from the Amazonian queen Thalestris, whose territories extended from hence to the river Bustro, on the borders of Circassia.

Thirteen store-ships having arrived at the mouth of the river Millukenti with provisions, from Astrachan, for the army, we marched thither, fifteen wersts, on the 24th, and found them at anchor. Here his majesty proposed to make a harbour for his ships on the Caspian, as there was no other place near Derbent fit for that purpose, and I received orders to erect a fort to cover it: the dragoons were immediately set to work to provide fascines and palisades; and the infantry to break the ground. · The first night after our fires were lighted, we were visited by creatures called jackals, which howled in a most pitiful manner; the light of our fires had brought such numbers from the mountains, and they made such a disagreeable noise in the very front of our camp, that we could get no sleep for that night; and being ignorant what they were, our surprize continued till daylight, when we shot several of them, and found them to be of the fox kind; after this we fired evening guns, which terrified them so much, that they kept in the mountains. We found also at this place a number of small creatures, called sand-hares, somewhat larger than rats; the head, fore-part, and tail, exactly resemble those of the lion; their

Jackalls and
sand-hares.

fore-legs are very short, and their hinder ones very long, book viii.
so that instead of running they jump, backwards or forwards,
at a surprising quick rate, springing full three feet from the
ground. We had much diversion in chasing these creatures,
although we could catch but few of them, as they soon get
into their holes, for they burrow like rabbits: they are very
fat and good to eat. This night we lost above seven hun-
dred of our horses, all of which swelled and burst by eat-
ing a poisonous herb which abounds in these parts; but
none of our camels or oxen suffered by it, who, upon trial,
would scarcely smell at it. The natives are particularly
careful to keep their horses from feeding where this herb
grows, which is only found near the sea-side.

We had such a furious storm of wind on the 25th, from the north, that all our thirteen store-ships, with our pro-
visions, were driven ashore and soon beat to pieces, but the
men were all saved, and in less than three hours there was
not the least appearance of any of the wreck to be seen,
which was all buried under the sand occasioned by the
shortness of the waves which succeed each other so quickly,
that the sands are thereby raised to a great degree: the next
day it was quite calm, and all hands were set to work to
dig for our lost provisions, and with some toil and labour
we recovered them; they consisted chiefly in rye meal and
flour all in sacks, and the salt-water had not penetrated
above an inch into them, and all within that was entirely
safe; it was immediately distributed to the army, with or-
ders to bake it into bread, and after that to make suchary
of it. The Russian soldiers always bake their own bread, suchary
making ovens in the ground wherever they come; and when bread.

they

BOOK VIII. they are ordered to make suchary of it, they cut the loaves,
1722. which commonly are of six pound weight, into small square pieces, and dry them in an oven, or in the sun, by which they turn so light, that a man can easily carry as much bread as will serve him twelve or fourteen days, and this kind of bread is so hard, that they soak it before they eat it; but they never make it but on necessary and pressing occasions. The Russians are so fond of suchary, that they always have plenty of the best kind of it in their houses and use it in soups; it eats very pleasant, and will keep above a year.

Two express-
fes and an
ambassador
arrive at the
army.

Two messengers now arrived in our camp; the one from the city of Shamachie, and the other from Baku, imploring his majesty's assistance against Myr Maghmud, the usurper; and very soon after those, came other three messengers, viz. from the Armenians, Melitener, and the Georgians, who are all of them of the communion of the Greek church; praying the emperor to send them some of his troops to enable them to defend themselves against the usurper, as they were fully determined to persevere in their allegiance to their rightful sophi; and the next day an ambassador arrived from the young sophi himself, who was very pressing to have our army advance with all possible dispatch to his assistance; offering to give his majesty possession of the strong cities of Resht, Shamachie, and Baku. Upon this we made all the dispatch we could to finish the fort and harbour; after which we intended to set out upon this expedition. Having so many hands continually employed on the works, the fort was finished on the 5th of September, which consisted of four bastions, surrounded by a moat, into which water from the river was led; and a

covert way palisaded ; a captain with 200 regulars, and BOOK VIII.
300 Cossacks, were put into it for its defence.

Our army was in readiness to set forward next day, when, to our great surprize, a Turkish ambassador arrived from Shamachie, informing the emperor that they had taken possession of that city, and that it was by the orders of the grand signor his master, that he came to signify to his majesty, the umbrage taken by the Porte at the progress he had made in those parts ; and likewise to desire him to withdraw his forces ; and if the emperor should refuse, to declare war against Russia. Upon weighing this matter duly, his majesty did not think proper to proceed, as he did not choose, at this juncture, to have any rupture with the Turks ; more especially, as he was then at so great a distance from his own country with the flower of his army ; he therefore immediately resolved to return back, so that this was the utmost limits, for this time, of our Persian expedition, and the provinces which had now so earnestly sought our assistance, were afterwards obliged to put themselves under the protection of the Turks.

All these troubles and disorders at this time in Persia were occasioned by the indolence and sloth of Shah Husstein, their king, whose only enjoyments were the pleasures of his haram, (or seraglio,) suffering his eunuchs to govern at pleasure. This encouraged the Tartars, Moguls, and Arabians, to make several irruptions into his provinces, and they were only removed thence by the force of money. Georgi-chan, the prince of Georgia, was governor of the city of Candahar, on the frontier of India, who being informed or apprehending that Myr Weis, the tax gatherer, was endeavour-

1722.
A Turkish
ambassador
obliges the
emperor to
return.

BOOK VIII ing to excite a revolt among the Aghvans, communicated the
affair to the court of Ispahan: Myr Weis was sent for,
^{1722.} where his fine parts enabled him very soon to make many friends, and at the same time to discover the weakness of a court quite immersed in softness and pleasures. He found means to be sent back to Candahar with some authority; where he was no sooner returned than he assassinated prince Georgi-chan, and forced the Aghvans to revolt. Thus he raised himself to the sovereign power, which he maintained till he died, the court of Persia not being able to reduce him to obedience. He was succeeded by his brother, who was soon assassinated by his nephew Myr Maghmut, son of Myr Weis. It was he that made himself master of all Persia, and drove Shah Husein from the throne. What became of that prince after his flight, none could ever tell.

The army return.

Our army decamped on the 6th of September, and we set out on our return to Derbent, to the great mortification of those people, who had so long relied on our assistance, whose messengers now left us with heavy hearts, finding all their hopes frustrated, being now left at the mercy of the usurper Myr Maghmut. The Turkish ambassador attended us till we entered again into Dagestan. We passed through and encamped on the north side of Derbent, on our return, to the general joy of the whole army, who did not in the least relish this expedition among such a savage barbarous people. On the 7th the Turkish ambassador had his audience of leave, and went to Derbent, where he remained till he heard we were re-embarked for Astrachan. We had now left behind us the five hundred men in the small fort on the river Millukenti, and our governor and three thou-
sand

sand men in garrison at Derbent, and this day marching BOOK VIII. fifteen wersts, we rested on the 8th. The heavy dews now began to fall in the night-time, which rendered it very cold ; 1722. Cold nights. the sudden change from the scorching heat of the days to the coldness of the nights, made it intolerable. We marched again fifteen wersts on the 9th, and rested on the 10th, in the night of which the hills were very thick covered with snow, which made it so exceeding cold, that we heartily repented having left our warm cloaths behind us at Astrachan, thinking we should have no occasion for them in so hot a climate.

On the 11th we marched twenty-four wersts to the river Nitzi, where we found the fort finished by baron Ronne, for the defence of which we had left one hundred soldiers, and two hundred Cossacks. It was at this place where we were attacked by sultan Udinach's army, and we now found they had carried away in the night, the bodies of their countrymen we had hung up by way of reprisal for the murder of the Cossacks. A messenger arrived here from Derbent, to inform us that Udinach, joined by Persian Usmei and sultan Mahmut of Utimishof, had assembled twenty thousand men with an intention to attack us in the night-time, which obliged us to stand to our arms all night long, which was bitter cold, and we continued in that posture till next day at noon, the enemy hovering all the while within fight : however, we moved again, and made an afternoon's march of twelve wersts, in continual view of the enemy, who endeavoured to attack us several times on our march, but as constantly fled on our approach, still hovering near us, and took two of our Cossacks

BOOK VIII. sacks prisoners, and we took three of their Tartars. The
wind blew so very hard this day, that we were almost blinded
^{1722.} with the sand and dust, of which they thought to avail themselves, but were frustrated by our vigilance. We continued under arms all this night, which proved very dewy and cold, but as we were attacked in the night in some part or other, our continual motions kept us in some heat. Next day seeing the enemy drawn up very near us, we formed and continued all day in order of battle, and remained all the following night in the same order, and not a man offered to stir out of his rank, being attacked this night in almost every quarter of the army ; yet we no sooner offered to advance toward them than they fled. We now again lost several hundreds of our horses by that poisonous herb before mentioned.

On the 14th we marched twenty-four wersts in constant view of the enemy, who still kept skirting the mountains, every now and then attacking us with small parties, on which occasions we took two more of them prisoners, but were obliged to continue all this night also under arms, without either pitching our tents or lighting fires, by which means officers and men were reduced so low by continual marching, watching, and cold, that our whole army were become very feeble and unfit for duty. On the 15th, notwithstanding the low state to which we were reduced, we marched to Tarku, twenty-five wersts, and before we got there the enemy disappeared. We dispatched two trumpeters, attended by two Coslacks, to acquaint the shafkal with our approach, but when we advanced near the city, we found them lying murdered on the road ; their cloaths and horses

horses were found in the possession of seven Dagestan Tatars belonging to Tarku, whom we apprehended and quartered them in the city in the presence of the shafkal and the inhabitants, and hung up their quarters in the most public places for an example to others. His majesty upbraided the shafkal in severe terms, both for the murder of his messengers, and his treachery in joining and conniving with his enemies to annoy his army : the shafkal in his own vindication assured his majesty that he was innocent of what had happened, but that his brother, and two of his own sons, had put themselves at the head of a disaffected body of his people, and risen in rebellion against him ; and as he had now secured them, he entreated his majesty to take them, and the rest of the malcontents, and do with them whatever he pleased : they were accordingly all delivered over to us, and sent as prisoners or hostages to Astrachan.

We marched again on the 16th, ten wersts from Tarku, without the least molestation : on our way one of the prisoners brought from Tarku, snatched a sabre from the side of one of our Cossacks, with which he very near cut off his right arm, but, upon his endeavouring to make his escape, was shot through the head by another Cossack who was attending him. Resuming our march on the 17th, we went twenty-seven wersts ; but our guide led us quite out of the road, into fenny and marshy ground quite over-grown with reeds, which occasioned great confusion in the army, and obliged us to return in a very dark night to extricate ourselves. Our guide being suspected of treachery was put in irons, and being found guilty, he was hanged next morning.

The

BOOK VIII. The 18th, we marched twenty-five wersts to the banks of the Sulack, where the river Agreechan separates from it.

^{1722.} Here we found a plain beautiful spot of ground on both sides the river ; the country overgrown with large tall trees and excellent pasturage, which enticed his majesty to build a new and well fortified town at this place to keep the Dagestan Tartars in awe, and I had orders to lay a plan before him. The plan consisted of five bastions, and two demi-bastions next the river on the south-side, with ravelins and a palisaded covered way ; on the north-side were six bastions, also with ravelins and a palisaded covered way ; the two sides to communicate by a bridge in the middle over the river. The emperor approved the plan, and all hands were immediately set to work under my direction in chief, with six engineers under me to carry on the work : when the works were laid out and the streets regulated, a number of hands were employed in felling timber for building houses, so that fortifying and building went on at the same time. His majesty named the new city Swetago-Krest (or Holy-Cross), and appointed general Waterang commander in chief of the army which was to be left for the protection and accomplishment of the works ; the army consisted of 7000 dragoons, 5000 regular infantry, and 6000 Cossacks ; in all 18,000 men.

<sup>Fort at the
river Nitzi
destroyed and
severed.</sup>

At this time an express arrived from Derbent, which informed his majesty that a body of 10,000 rebel Persians had attacked our fort at the river Millukenti, and that the garrison had made such a vigorous defence, that the enemy were obliged to retire with the loss of 600 men ; and that the other fort, at the river Nitzi, had been surprised and taken

taken by sultan Udinach, who had quartered all the garrison, and crucified the officers on the same spot of ground where we formerly executed his people: the express also brought intelligence, that sultan Udinach was no sooner informed of our army's being gone to the river Sulack, than thinking himself in perfect safety, he had brought all his people down from their retreats in the mountains, and that they were then enjoying themselves in great security in the vallies. The emperor now lost no time in dispatching a body of light horse, consisting of 10,000 Cossacks, and 15,000 Kalmuck Tartars, who went with such expedition, that they came upon them living in the utmost security; put several thousands of their men to the sword, the two sultans Udinach and Maglmut, very narrowly escaped, leaving their women, children, and cattle, a prey to the vanquishers, besides their slaves, the whole amounting to several thousand of both sexes. Among the slaves were four hundred and thirty-seven Russians, of both sexes, who were now left to inhabit the new city of Swetago-Krest; the emperor allowed the captors two rubles a head for the Russians; the rest were sold; as the Cossacks and Kalmucks serve the emperor in his wars, no purchase no pay, having only bread allowed them while they continue in service, all the prisoners and booty they take is their own, to dispose of as they can to the best advantage. When the remaining prisoners, on this occasion, were offered to sale, there were found among them upwards of two hundred Georgian slaves, all Christians of the Greek church; for these an agreement was made with the captors at ten rubles a head, which her majesty, the empress, paid for their redemption;

and

1722.

BOOK VIII.

BOOK VIII. and they were likewise left to people the new town. The rest of the Cossacks who were not employed, and the Kal-muck Tartars, were now sent home to their own country through Circassia and the deserts of Astrachan, richly provided with slaves and cattle of all sorts, having made a profitable campaign of it.

The army re-embark at A-grechan, and the provisions for the captain's galley lost, a starv-ing voyage.

His majesty was now preparing to move homewards, and I had accommodated my affairs to stay in this place, but I received orders to attend the emperor to Astrachan, and to leave the direction of the works to lieutenant-colonel Brunie, as engineer in my absence, which I obeyed with great pleasure; and as I had neither sold my camels, nor horses, the general kindly took upon himself to dispose of them to the best advantage. We marched, on the 1st of October, thirty wersts, along the banks of the river Agrechan, to the entrenchments that protected our gallies, and on our arrival, we found them all out and ready at anchor to receive us. We embarked the same evening, and the fleet lay there all night; the next morning, a boat coming from the shore with provisions for the use of my galley, sunk before she could reach us; the men were saved, but every bit of the provisions lost; I sent immediately to the admiral a report of our misfortune, and desired a supply of provisions; and he returned for answer, that he could not supply us, as the rest of the gallies had little enough for their own subsistence. Makarof, his majesty's secretary, being then on board with me, was much surprised at the answer; saying, that a small share from each galley could not have been missed, and that, from so many, would have been sufficient for us. The secretary advised me immediately to make

the best of our way to Astrachan, without any regard to the book ^{vii.} admiral's signals, offering to be answerable for the consequences if I should be called to an account for it; which advice I was determined to follow whenever I met with a favourable wind to put it in execution.

The 2d in the afternoon, the signal was made to weigh, and the weather being quite calm, we rowed along shore till it was dark, when another signal was made to anchor; the next day it being still a calm, we rowed till night, and while we lay at anchor, a furious storm arose, which beat the short waves so violently against our galley, that she sprung a leak, and notwithstanding all our exertion with the pumps, the water gained so fast upon us, that we expected she would very soon go down; I run down to the cabin to see what water was under its floor, and upon entering there, I heard a noise of water below the secretary's bed, and immediately called the carpenter to take up the boards, and then we discovered the leak, which was a hole so big that I thrust my hand through it; we got it immediately stopt, and the pumps then soon cleared the vessel to our great joy: several of our gallies were lost in this storm, but most of the people saved. When day-light appeared, we saw four gallies sunk at a small distance from us, with their masts only above water, and men hanging by them, where they remained till the boats went and brought them off. Three gallies were so deeply loaded, that they sunk and all the men perished. On the 4th, the storm being abated, and the wind favourable, the fleet sailed all day; but the two following days, being quite calm, we were obliged to have recourse to our oars again, and row along shore, which was

BOOK VIII. very mortifying to the poor soldiers, who were by this time
reduced to very short allowance. The secretary and I dis-
^{1722.} tributed to them what little provisions and brandy we could
spare, which went but a short way among so many men.

The 7th, having a favourable wind, we not only made all the sail we could, but likewise applied to our oars, and by this means we soon left the fleet out of sight, and continued under sail all night; but it being calm in the morning, we were obliged to row, notwithstanding the miserable condition the poor soldiers were reduced to by hunger: two of them died this day, more for want of food than sickness: at noon the wind began to blow fresh, which relieved the soldiers from the oars, and we continued sailing all that night, but I had lost three more of my men. We had a fair wind all day of the 9th, and made the best use we could of it till we ran a-ground in the evening, but with the assistance of a warp-anchor, we got her towed off again without the least damage. This little obstruction to our voyage greatly disheartened the poor starving men, and two more of them died that night; and the survivors were more like ghosts than men, and were now reduced so low that they could no longer handle the oars or sails, and even begged leave to eat their dead companions: from this, however, as we failed with a fine breeze, we got them persuaded to refrain, in hopes that one day more would bring us to the mouth of the Wolga. On the 10th, the wind still favoured us, till in the evening we happily fell in with a fishing-boat with plenty of fish, and the poor starved men fell to eating them so voraciously, that they had not patience to broil them; so that I was obliged to set off the boat for fear of the men

killing,

killing themselves ; but as the fishermen had given us a bag of suchary, or biscuit, it was divided in small shares among them, which, with the broiled fish, a little refreshed them ; and the joyful information that several provision-ships were lying at the mouth of the river, greatly revived their fainting spirits : I kept one of the fishermen on board for a pilot, and ordered the boat with the fish to follow us, in case we should have farther occasion for them. We continued to sail all night, but four more of my men died this night, who certainly would have been eaten by their companions, had we not been provided with plenty of fish. The 11th, in the morning, we got into the mouth of the Wolga, where we found store-ships full of all sorts of provisions, and of which I had what we wanted, by giving a receipt ; yet I lost three more of my men before I got on shore, so that I had fourteen in all starved to death on the voyage, and nine more died of too great plenty after we came on shore. Here we waited the arrival of the fleet, which was on the 14th, in the evening. Admiral Apraxin's galley being the first that entered the river, he enquired what galley that was on shore ; and on being informed, he ordered me to come on board his galley. Secretary Makarof went with me, and when we got on board, he had a long conference with the admiral in his cabin, and then I was called in and received his commendations for what I had done, and was dismissed ; but from the caution he gave me not to mention what had happened, I had reason to believe he was afraid this proceeding of his might come to the emperor's ears.

BOOK VIII. On the 15th, the fleet proceeded up the river to Astrachan, and on our arrival, were saluted by all the artillery of the city, to the inexpressible joy of the whole army. We debarked the next day, and were put into quarters of refreshment, of which we stood in great need. One of our hospital ships, with 360 men, had been cast away upon the coast of Turkistan, or Turkomania, on the east side of the Caspian ; of which number only one ensign, a priest, and seven men returned to give the dismal account : the rest had all either died or been made prisoners by the Tartars. We lost on this destructive expedition, above one third of our whole army, not in battle, but by sickness and fatigue.

At this time an express arrived from Resht, the principal city of the province of Gilan, upon the southernmost coast of the Caspian, desiring his majesty to send them a sufficient number of our troops to defend them against the usurper Myr-Maghmut, and offering to put their strong city into our possession. His majesty sent a colonel and two engineers with one thousand men to their relief, by sea to Resht ; but at the time of their landing, the usurper being near the town with a numerous army, the inhabitants were afraid to admit our troops into the town ; our troops therefore, were obliged to entrench themselves near the sea-shore. On receiving intelligence of this, general Lewasof was sent with four thousand more men to join them, and on their arrival, the inhabitants admitted them into the city ; the general immediately added several outworks to strengthen the place, and we remained in full possession

of

^{1722.}
Arrival at
Astrachan the
15th of Octo-
ber.

of the province, without the least disturbance from the usurper.

1722.

General Lewasof at his setting out, had orders to call at Baku, and leave a garrison there of two thousand men; but he came too late, for the citizens being disappointed of the support they hoped for from our army, when we were at Derbent, were obliged to submit themselves to the obedience of Myr-Maghmut, and they refused to admit our troops.

It may be proper to observe here, that the jealousy which the march of our army into those parts, had excited in the Turks, and the umbrage they had taken at it, was afterward adjusted by our ambassador at Constantinople, where it was mutually agreed that the Turks should keep Shamachie; that Armenia, Melitener, and Georgia, should remain under their protection; and that the emperor, if he chose it, might subdue all the provinces bordering on the Caspian sea.

His majesty being now determined to make all his conquests in future by sea, without running the risque of ruining an army with marching again by land, gave immediate orders to build a sufficient number of ships of burthen, and finding our former gallies too small for any distant expedition, gave likewise orders to build a number of double gallies of forty oars, to contain above three hundred men each; and having settled all his affairs at this place, he left General Matuskin here to command the army in chief, and ordered the six battalions of his own body guards to attend his person to Moscow. We left all our gallies here, and proceeded in open boats up the river Wolga, so that instead

BOOK VIII. of enjoying any rest in this place, we were again put to
— intolerable hardships; and we who had the honour of being
^{1722.} the body guards of this indefatigable monarch, underwent greater fatigues, harder duty, and severer punishment for neglect of it, upon all occasions, than any of the rest of his army.

B O O K IX.

Progress up the Wolga to Czaritsa.—*The ghoſt there.*—*A ſhort history of the Cofſacks.*—*Stephen Ratzin's rebellion.*—*Ordered to ſurvey the Caſpian ſea, on which he proceeds to Jaick and Yembo.*—*Island of Ku-la, and Turkiftan Tartars.*—*Gulf of Iſkander.*—*River Oxus and the Ujbeck Tartars.*—*The gulf of Carabuga.*—*River Daria.*—*River Oſſa.*—*Gulf of Astrabat.*—*Provinces of Terebat and Maſſenderan.*—*Gulf of Siſili and city of Reſkt.*—*Difficult path of the Pyles.*—*The rivers Ar-deſchin and Linkeran, and the famous naphtha oil-pits.*—*The river Cyrus, or Kur.*—*The city of Baku.*—*City of Shamachie.*—*City of Derbent.*—*The river Sulack.*—*Gulf of Agreechan, Island of Trentzeni and city of Terki.*—*General Deſcription of the Caſpian ſea.*—*Watch tower on John's iſland.*—*General Matuſkin's marriage to the widow in tears.*—*Conteſt among the Kalmucks, and expedition againſt them.*—*Deſcription of their kibbets.*—*A battle with the Kalmucks.*—*Some odd cuſtoms among them.*—*The Baranetz, or Lambſkin.*—*Returns for Moſcow up the Wolga.*—*A narrow eſcape from the ice.*—*Proceed by land.*—*A cruel robbery in the woods.*—*A remarkable diſcovery of a town, with an account of it.*—*A wild girl taken in the wood.*—*Arrival at Moſcow.*

THE emperor ſet out from hence on the 5th of No- BOOK ix.
vember; for the first three days ſome ſoldiers were —
put on ſhore to tow the boats againſt the stream, who were
relieved every hour; the 8th, having a favourable wind
from the ſouth, we went under sail for four days. On the
11th, we met the ice in large ſheets floating down the river,
and two of our battalions being then in the rear, I asked,
and obtained leave of brigadier Kartzmin, under whose
command they were, to make the beſt of my way, and with
much toil and labour reached Zornayar on the 16th, a
fortified town with a numerouſ garrifon. The river being

^{1722.}
Progres up
the Wolga to
Czaritsa.

BOOK IX. completely frozen over this night, I was obliged to draw my boat on shore, and had the good fortune to be the only officer of our division frozen up at an inhabited place. His majesty, with four battalions, was stopt forty wersts above us, and brigadier Kartzmin, with the other two, was stopt forty wersts below us, and could not reach Zornoyar by land till the 19th. His majesty preceeded by land to Czaritzia, and we remained at Zornayar, till the Kalmuck Tartars came over the river on the ice to take up their usual winter-quarters in the desart: they covered a road with earth over the ice for their cattle to pass on, their horses, for want of shoeing, as well as their other cattle, being equally unable to set their feet on the bare ice.

We now bought horses of the Tartars at a very cheap rate, and set forward on the 17th of December through a barren desart country, without meeting a single house in all our way, being obliged to lay in our tents for four successive nights in very cold weather, and in want of every necessary: we arrived at Czaritzia on the 21st at night, which is five hundred wersts above Astrachan. When the emperor left this place some time before, with the other battalions, to make the best of his way to Moscow, he left orders for our two (being those of Ingermanland and Astrachan) to remain here for the winter; which orders we received with great pleasure, as we found very good quarters, and notwithstanding the numerous garrison of foot and Cosacks, we had every thing we could wish for in great plenty.

The ghost
there.

One day when I was dining with the governor, he entertained us with a long story about a ghost that was frequently seen walking the streets at night, and had continued to do so

for

for some years past, bestowing a sound beating on any person who offered to disturb it, but did no other harm. I —————
BOOK IX.
mentioned my surprize that no body had attempted to seize
^{1722.} this ghost, as it could certainly be no other than some person who took pleasure in frightening the people. The governor, who was a very credulous man, replied with some warmth, " It was very perceptible I was a foreigner, who " seldom believed any thing."—I told him, that he ought not to take offence at what I had said, for if he would give me leave I would secure the ghost the first time it walked the streets again, which he granted with a sneer. When I came home to my lodging, I asked one of my serjeants if he had heard any thing of a ghost in town ; he told me he had seen it frequently, and if I was curious he believed I might see it that same night : on which I ordered him to pick out half a dozen stout fellows, and attend with them at my lodging, and send some others to look out and bring me word when it appeared. About eleven o'clock at night, information came that it was walking in the next street to that I was in ; upon which I sent the serjeant with three of the men to meet it, and ordered him by all means to seize it, and went myself with the other three to follow it in case it should attempt to return back ; but it met the serjeant without offering to return or escape ; and upon being seized, threw two of the men under his feet, yet they held him fast till I came up ; when, presenting a pistol to his breast, he begged to save his life, and confessed himself to be one of the Cossacks belonging to the garrison. I carried him immediately to the governor, who was so much ashamed for having allowed himself to be so long imposed on, and so

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enraged,

BOOK IX. enraged, that he threatened to hang the fellow; but as he had not been guilty of any other crime, except that of frightening people, ^{1722.} he came off with a severe whipping, after he had stood some time with his white sheet about him, as a show to the people of the town.

A short history of the Cossacks.

Having had frequent occasion to mention the Cossacks, employed both in our armies and garrisons, I shall endeavour to give some short account of their origin. They were at first no more than a band of free-booters, composed of a wild barbarous rabble, mostly boors, from the provinces of Polish Russia, Volhinia, and Podolia. Having left their native habitations, they settled themselves on some islands in the river Boristhenes, below Kiovia, where they subsisted by robbery and plunder. They acquired the name of Cossacks from their agility, the word *Cessa* signifying as much in the Polish language: they were particularly remarkable for their dexterity in passing between the great number of small islands, situated in the mouth of the Boristhenes: their piracies early became terrible to the Turkish gallies on the Black-Sea, and they grew formidable to Anatolia itself, when they not only plundered Trebisond and Sinope, but even the suburbs of Constantinople did not escape them, and they returned in safety to their habitations with their prisoners and plunder.

The fame of their exploits against the Turks gained them such reputation with the Poles, that Stephen Batori, prince of Transilvania and king of Poland, considering that these Cossacks might be of great use to the crown of Poland, not only against the incursions of the neighbouring Crim Tatars, but also might serve as a considerable addition to the strength

1732.

strength of the Polish army, which consisting for the most part of horse, would be rendered more formidable when augmented by so considerable a number of foot, resolved to put these vagabond soldiers into good order and discipline; which he effected by granting them very considerable privileges, and putting them under a general of their own, called by them hetman, who had the power of naming his own officers. Having thus reduced them into one body, he gave them the city of Techimerof, on the Boristhenes, with all the territory belonging to it, which they made their capital magazine, and residence of their hetman; and by this means, all that tract of desert country which extends itself along the Boristhenes, from Bar, Braclaw, and Kiow, to the Black-Sea, became a populous country, filled with towns and cities, and is now called the Ukraine*. As this body has been of very great service to the crown of Poland, by securing its frontiers on that side against the incursions of the Crim Tartars: so, after some time, it proved very dangerous, having several times taken arms against the republic, which was occasioned by several Polish lords, whose boors (their vassals) could never be well secured as long as the Cossacks enjoyed their privileges, represented them to the king as dangerous to the republic, by reason of the great numbers of peasants that daily ran over to them. It was resolved to build a fort at a place called Kudak, on a point of land formed by the influx of the river Swamer to the Boristhenes, which was chosen from its situation, as a proper place to bridle the Cossacks, being at no great distance from the place of their ordinary rendezvous. The Cossacks, how-

* Ukraine, in the Polish language, signifies frontier.

BOOK XI. ever, penetrating the design of the Poles, were resolved not to suffer the bridle to be put over their heads ; and having defeated two hundred men who were left to see the fort perfected, under the command of a colonel, they assembled a considerable body of forces, to prevent the Polish general in his design ; and from that time there were divisions and perpetual wars between the Poles and the Cossacks. During these troubles, great numbers of the Cossacks retired, with their families to the river Don, or Tanais, and settled between the Don and the Wolga, where they subsisted a long time by their piracies on the Wolga.

In the year 1653, being greatly oppressed by the Poles, they joined the Russians, who, in the year following, with their assistance, took the cities of Smolinsko and Wilna ; so that it was chiefly owing to the valour of the Cossacks, that the provinces of Smolinsko and Severia with the palatinate of Kiovia, were annexed to the Russian empire, and which were all confirmed to them by the treaty of peace in 1666, made at Oliva. About that period the Cossacks in general put themselves under the protection of Russia, and are still distinguished by the Ukrain and Donski Cossacks, the former of which serve mostly on foot, the latter all on horseback. It was the Donski Cossacks who were employed on our expedition at this time, and were put in garrison in all our frontier towns, and are in regular pay, and forage allowed them for their horses. They have now left off robbing, except when they are sent into an enemy's country, then all the booty they make is their own, as also the prisoners they take, whom they may sell or retain as their slaves.

The Cossacks in general are tall, strong, well set, and remarkably active ; they are liberal even to profusion, placing no great value in riches, but are great lovers of their liberty, which they look upon as a thing inestimable : they are hardy, indefatigable, brave, but great drunkards and very treacherous. Their chief employment is hunting and fishing, yet they apply themselves both to agriculture and arms ; their language is a dialect of the Russian and Polish tongues, but more smooth and agreeable than either ; they profess the Greek religion in the same manner as it is established in Russia.

A very dangerous rebellion was raised in the year 1669, when Alexis (his present majesty's father) was emperor, by one Stephen Ratzin, a Donski Cossack by birth ; who, observing a certain disposition in the Nagayan Tartars inhabiting the kingdom of Astrachan, occasioned by the heavy oppressions they groaned under from the mismanagement and avarice of the Russian governors in those parts, to shake off the Russian yoke, he gathered a considerable party, and being assisted by a great number of the Donski Cossacks, marched at their head against the city of Astrachan, which he besieged and took, after a small resistance. From thence he marched toward Casan, threatening not only that city, but the southern Russia with a most dreadful invasion ; and his army increased prodigiously by the vast number of Tartars that flocked to his assistance. But instead of improving this opportunity to his advantage, he abandoned himself to idleness and all manner of excess and debauchery, by which the Russians had leisure to assemble their forces and stop his career ; in which they were so expeditious as to arrive at Casan before he could lay siege to the

1722.

BOOK IX. the place, and having thus cut off all communication with
the country thereabout, from whence Astrachan and the
^{1722.} adjacent parts are supplied with corn, the rebellious army
was soon reduced to such great distress, by want of subsistence, that the Tartars being apprehensive of their approaching danger, for the most part deserted their leader; notwithstanding which, the Cossacks stood it out bravely, resolving to maintain their ground against the Russians; for which purpose they entrenched themselves under the walls of Astrachan. The Russians seeing the desperate resolution of the Cossacks, thought it more adviseable to reduce them; if possible, to obedience by fair means, and a promise of free pardon for all that was past, than by force of arms, which had the desired effect; for Ratzin finding his Cossacks wavering, and being flattered with hopes of forgiveness, by some of his friends in the emperor's court, surrendered himself to the mercy of czar Alexis Michaelovitz, the next year. His party being thus deprived of their head, readily embraced the offer of pardon; but Ratzin not long after found himself extremely mistaken in his hopes, for he was carried into the great market-place, before the castle in Moscow, and there, in the midst of an infinite number of spectators, assembled to see the tragical exit of a man, whom not many months before they had considered as their most dreadful enemy, he had first his arms cut off, then his legs, and lastly his head. Ever since that period, the Cossacks have been kept in strict order and discipline, being for the most part employed in garrisoning the frontier towns, in which they never exceed one third, and being all horsemen, they are employed out upon parties to keep the neighbouring

bousing Tartars in awe, the Russian soldiers only doing BOOK XI.
duty in the garrisons.

Early this spring, when we were in hopes of going to Moscow, we received orders to return to Astrachan, there ^{1723.} Ordered to survey the Caspian Sea, to remain in garrison till the return of general Matuškin, who had received his orders to proceed to Baku, with a force to reduce that city: accordingly we moved with our two battalions, on the 2d of April, from Czaritza down the Wolga, and arrived at Astrachan on the 8th, where we found the general embarking his troops to sail on his expedition against Baku. At the same time I got very unexpected orders to go all round the Caspian Sea, to survey and sound it, and to lay down, in a chart, all the islands, rivers, creeks, and bays, with the different soundings, and for this service had one of the strongest new built gallies, of forty oars, carrying two eighteen pounders in her prow, twenty-four swivels, and three hundred men; attended with four boats, two of eight oars, one of ten, and another of twelve, each boat carrying one swivel gun; and two sub-engineers were appointed for my assistants.

My first care was to guard against the misfortunes which ^{On which he} proceeds was so fatal to the last galley I commanded in the Caspian, by laying in a plentiful stock of provisions, and my old friend, the Capuchin, sent me a present of one cask of very good red wine, one of white, a quarter cask of brandy, and several kinds of preserved sweet-meats; so that the good man was never tired in shewing his gratitude, for the small favour I had done him, in his passage down the river. The general with his army sat out on the 15th, and we went down the river on the 18th of April, and got to the

BOOK XI. mouth of the Wolga next morning; from thence proceeding eastward, we past in very shallow water along the coast so overgrown with reed, that we were obliged to keep at five or six miles distance from the shore, in from ten to twelve feet water; and in all the way for eight days time, we could find no place to land even one of our smallest boats. We saw two little islands in our way, but we could not come at them for reed; but we killed a great number of sea-fowl, that have their nests in these islands, and had plenty of fish and fowl all the way. We sailed or rowed as the wind permitted, but came to an anchor every night, that nothing might escape our observation.

to Jaick.

On the 26th, we arrived in the river Jaick, the mouth of which is one hundred fathoms broad, and eighteen feet deep; we went to the town of Jaick, which stands about one mile up the river, is well fortified, has a strong garrison of Russians and Cossacks, to keep the Kalmuck and Nagayan Tartars in awe, and to prevent them from attacking each other, as they live in perpetual enmity. The Nagayans inhabit all the country from Astrachan to the Jaick, all along the sea-coast, two hundred and fifty-five wersts in extent; and the Kalmucks possess that vast tract of land, from Saratof and the great desert of Beriket, and that tract to the south of the Jaick, all along the shore to the river Yembo, which is ninety-three wersts from this place. We stayed only one day at Jaick, and provided ourselves with fresh meat and water. Being informed by the governor that there was a large gulf to the eastward of this place, to the river Yembo, but too shallow to admit our galley, I sent one of the engineers with two of the boats, to go round and survey it, and join

us

us again on the opposite point, for which we proceeded immediately, and failing south, we anchored on the 30th, between the island of Kulala, and the point of the main, in six fathom water, in view of the mountains of Karagan,^{1723.} Kulala, and from hence we had a clean and deep shore. At this place begin the territories of Turkistan, or the Turkomanian Tartars. During our stay here, waiting the return of the engineer, we laid in plenty of wood and water, and diverted ourselves with fowling and fishing: we caught here a beluga upwards of six yards long, and thick in proportion; from the roe of which we made excellent caviar, which lasted us above a month. Our engineer, with the boats, joined us again on the 10th of May, who reported that in the survey of the bay, he found only from five to eight feet water; that the whole shore was so covered with reed, that they could only land at the mouth of the river Yembo, which was both broad and deep.

We left the island of Kulala on the 11th, on our way to the gulf of Iskander, where we arrived the 20th. All along this coast there is a great depth of water, so that we could land with our galley on any part of it. A great number of small rivers fall into the sea from the mountains, but we could not learn their names, although I attempted to get information by sending the twelve oared boat, with an officer and twenty-four men, and an interpreter to speak with the people on shore: but they no sooner came near enough, than the Tartars let fly a volley of arrows at our people, who returned the salute with a discharge of their musketry, and we fired one of our great guns from the galley at them, which made them retire towards the mountains in great

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haste,

BOOK IX haste. They always appeared in great parties, on horseback,
 well armed, and we saw several of their hords, or camps,
^{1723.} at a distance, which they move at pleasure, and wan-
 der from place to place, for those Tartars have no settled
 abode: they continued to attend us every day in great par-
 ties, to watch our motions, out of the reach of our guns,
 and they disappeared entirely on our arrival in the gulf of
 Iskander, which is one hundred and eighty-four wersts from
 the Isle of Kulala. In this gulf which is, from east to west,
 thirty wersts in length, and eighteen broad, we found, near
 the shore, from five to six fathom water, with a clean
 ground, and exceeding good anchorage; it would be one of
 the finest harbours in the world, as both sides of the en-
 trance are extremely well calculated to erect forts upon, for
 its defence. It lies in 43 deg. 20 min. north; several small
 rivers fall into it from the mountains.

River Oxus
and Uzbeck
Tartars.

We left the gulf of Iskander on the 26th, and proceed-
 ing along shore two days in good depth of water; we arrived
 in the river Oxus, being ninety wersts from the gulf. This
 river is both large and rapid, and is about a musket-shot
 broad at its entrance. Here we found a few unarmed Tar-
 tars, who sold us some sheep, and informed us that several
 hords of Turkumanian Tartars were encamped on the banks
 of the river, a little way above, and that the Uzbeck Tar-
 tars encamped on the other side, this river dividing the two
 nations. We had hitherto seen nothing but fine weather,
 intermixt with calms and light breezes; but this night we
 had a dreadful storm of wind, attended with rain, thun-
 der, and lightning, which obliged us to run the galley half
 a werst up the river for shelter, where we anchored in the
 middle

middle of the stream, not daring to venture on either side ~~BOOK IX.~~
for fear of the Tartars, having the Turkumanians on the
north, and the Usbecks on the south, hovering at a distance.
^{1723.}
The storm lasted till next day at noon, when we left the
Oxus, and sailing along-shore in deep water, with a
clean bottom, attended by parties of the Usbeck Tartars,
who observed our motions at a distance from the sides of
the mountains. We passed by two small islands covered
with trees (called the Lebajee islands), where we took in
wood, and killed a number of sea-fowl.

The 2d of June, we arrived at the gulf of Carabuga, ^{The gulf of} ~~Carabuga.~~
one hundred and five wersts from the river Oxus; the in-
let of the gulf is about two wersts broad, and at one
werst within is an island, where we landed with our galley,
and encamped the people to refresh themselves on shore,
and get our vessel cleaned: from hence I dispatched the two
assistants, in the largest boats, to survey the gulf; direct-
ing them to proceed along the opposite sides till they should
meet, and then return to the island: in the mean time, I
sounded all round the inlet, and had from five to six fathoms
water; but a few wersts within, we could not reach
the bottom; I could observe no current here either in or
out. The gulf, from north to south, is seventy-five wersts,
and fifty from east to west, deep water, a clean bottom, and
the shore steep, all round the gulf; it is surrounded
with high mountains; two large rivers (the Morga and
Herat) fall into it from the east; the entrance is formed by
two narrow necks of land, and might be easily secured and
fortified; and this island, which is two miles in circumfer-
ence, would serve for a protection to the shipping. As there

BOOK IX. is no tide in the Caspian, some people have alledged that the
waters of the sea find a passage by this gulf, which made
^{1723.} me curious to examine it more particularly, but I could
not find the least reason for such a conjecture.

Having enjoyed ourselves very agreeably under the cooling shade of the trees in this hot climate, without the least apprehension of any danger from the Tartars, we took our departure from Carabuga on the 22d, and coasted along shore for six days, in very hot weather, without the smallest breeze of wind, which made it intolerable for the poor soldiers, who were obliged to row all the way, and anchoring every night, we had continual flashes of lightning, and these sometimes accompanied with dreadful loud claps of thunder, which are very frequent in this country during the summer. We were every day attended along the shore by numerous parties of the Usbeck Tartars, who seemed very jealous of our intentions, which obliged us, as often as we wanted to fend ashore for fresh water, to fire our great guns at them, which kept them at a distance, by which means we supplied ourselves.

River Daria. One hundred and forty wersts southward from Carabuga, we entered the mouth of the famous river Daria on the 28th; it lies in 39 deg. 15 min. north latitude. It is here where the gold sand is washed down from the mines in the mountains, and here where the unfortunate prince Alexander Bekewitz, a few years ago, with an army of 3,000 men, were treacherously massacred by the Usbeck Tartars, as I mentioned before. I now saw the place where the fort had been erected, on a narrow neck of land, opposite to the mouth of the river, and which forms a spacious harbour capable

capable of containing a number of ships of burthen, as there ^{BOOK IX.} is from three to four fathom water close to the shore, on a —————
clean bottom with good anchorage ; so that it was a great
pity the prince suffered himself to be over-reached by these
treacherous Tartars. If this post had been maintained,
which might have been done without any manner of dan-
ger, it would, in process of time, have been a most glo-
rious acquisition towards enriching the Russian nation. I
intended to have gone some way up this river ; but as the
Tartars had taken the alarm at our appearance here, and
were already come from their camp in formidable bodies, I
was obliged to lay aside the design and leave the place ; and
passing two bays and three islands, called the Goat Islands,
we came to an anchor at one of the islands for the night,
where we landed, saw a number of goats, and killed five of
them.

The next day, being the 29th, we arrived at Minkiflack, ^{River Ossa.} on the north-side of the river Ossa, or Orxantes, sixty wersts from Daria. This river divides the Usbeck Tartary from Persia, is both large and deep, and ships may ride at anchor here in great safety. Here we were glad to find peo- ple dwelling in houses, for we had not seen a house from the time we left Astrachan, except at Jaick. We found the people of Minkiflack both civil and kind : they live after the Persian manner, whose subjects they are, and we got all sorts of refreshments at a very cheap rate, and were af- terwards no more honoured with an escort of Tartars. From Minkiflack we proceeded along a clean shore, in deep water, where we could have landed with our galley on any part of the coast, and where abundance of small rivulets fall in-
to

BOOK IX. to the sea, and the country, abounding with villages, is overgrown with a great variety of fruit-trees.

^{1723.}
Gulf of
Astrabat.

The 4th of July, we arrived at the inlet of the gulf of Astrabat, one hundred and fifty wersts from Minkiflack : we entered and anchored within the gulph. The city of Astrabat stands on the river Naren, which falls into the gulf thirty wersts from the inlet ; the gulf itself is forty-six wersts from east to west, and has two and a half fathoms of water over all ; Astrabat is fortified with high and thick walls, flanked with towers, and is a place of great trade. This makes the southern extremity of the Caspian sea, and lies in 36 deg. 50 min. north lat. This province, with the neighbouring provinces of Terebat, Massanderan, and Gilan, produce abundance of raw silk, coffee, saffron, and cotton ; their silk is esteemed the best in all Persia, and by it they carry on a great trade to different parts, especially to Russia, where a silk manufactory is established at Moscow. This country abounds with the most delicious fruits of all kinds, especially their grapes, which are surprisingly large. In coasting the country from hence, we made very particular enquiries of the inhabitants concerning some whirlpools, laid down near this shore in some old maps, but we could neither hear or discover the least appearance of any such thing.

Provinces of
Terebat and
Massanderan.

In passing the provinces of Terebat and Massanderan, we saw a most delightful country, abounding with plantations of mulberry-trees, and watered by a great number of rivers, whose banks were full of houses, and wherever we landed the people shewed us the utmost civility, furnishing us most chearfully with whatever we wanted at an extraordinary cheap rate.

On the 18th, we arrived at the gulf of Sinsili, one hundred and seventy wersts from Astrabat; we went through —————— this gulf in four fathom water, sixteen wersts to the city of Resht, the capital of the province of Gilan, which stands at the mouth of the river Kisilofcin: the gulf extends eighteen wersts from east to west; the city is square, and fortified in the same manner as Astrabat, with strong walls and towers.

^{1723.}
Gulf of
Sinsili and
city of Resht.

General Leewasof was now governor, with a garrison of 5,000 men: they were employed at this time in building a citadel of five bastions to command both the town and harbour; but as their principal engineer, captain Sager, had, after a severe fit of sickness, lost the sight of both his eyes, and they were in want of one to supply his place, the general desired I would leave lieutenant Hartman, one of my assistants, to be engineer, which I agreed to at the lieutenant's own request, as I had now not so much occasion for him as formerly. They had lost a considerable number of their men by sickness, very common in hot climates. Provisions were both scarce and dear here at present, as the rebels had plundered and laid waste the whole country as far as Baku, and what they had, both for the support of the inhabitants and garrison, they were supplied with from Astrachan. The raw silk, of which the inhabitants had great quantities on their hands, for want of sale during the troubles, they sent to Astrachan in the transports which had brought the troops to Resht, and they had provisions in return for their silk.

Several wersts above the city there is a road hewn through high mountains into Persia, called Pyles, in which only

Difficult path
of the Pyles.
one

BOOK IX. one single camel, or horse, can go at a time, following each other. This road is made in steps cut all the way for the beasts to travel in; every man leads his own horse, holding the reins loose in his hand for fear he should make a false step, by which it would fall down a high precipice into the river Kifilofein, which runs at the bottom with a rumbling noise; the other side of the road is over-hung with dreadful rocks, which appear as if they would tumble down upon the traveller, which renders it a very dismal passage. If it should happen by accident that travellers should meet, it is impossible for either to make way, for which reason there is always one sent before to prevent its happening.

The rivers Ardeschim and Linke-
ran, and the famous naphtha oil-pits.

Having stopt two weeks at Resht, we set out again on our way northward, coasting a clean deep shore, and passing by the river Ardeschiin, we arrived at the river Linke-
ran, on the 4th of August. Not far from this river stands the famous mountain Barmach, remarkable for the oil called naphtha, which issues from it in thirty different pits, all within the compass of a musket-shot of each other: the pits are some two, some three fathom deep, into which the people descend by steps; the oil is of two kinds, brown and white: the brown is of a strong disagreeable smell, and much the most plentiful, as it is found in twenty-seven of the pits; it is used for burning in lamps, in dressing of leather, and for several other purposes; the white, which is only found in three of the pits, has a pleasant smell, is the most valuable, and is used as an infallible remedy in strains and bruises; as the oil rises from the mountain in the pits, it is heard as the bubbling of a boiling pot; it is carried from hence to a great distance. I bought several jars of each kind,

kind, and carried with me to Astrachan, where it proved to be a very desirable commodity. At this place we had another violent storm of wind, but taking shelter in the river, we lay very safe : we thought ourselves fortunate in being at the mouth of a river in both storms, as they are not easily weathered in this sea, where the short waves breaking in such quick succession upon the vessel, require a strong ship to withstand them.

On the 18th, we arrived at the river Cyrus, or Kur, which is joined by the river Araxis, and is the most considerable river on the western coast of the Caspian, into which it falls through five different channels. We proceeded for the city of Baku, where we arrived the next day, just after General Matuskin had got under way on his return to Astrachan. Baku had surrendered after a short bombardment, and brigadier Knez Baratinski was left governor of the city, with a garrison of four thousand men. Baku lies from Resht two hundred and fifty-five wersts; it is very strongly fortified with three walls within each other, each with towers, and which form three distinct divisions of the city; the innermost standing on the highest ground, by way of a citadel, commands the rest: it is mounted with a number of brass cannon. The governor with his garrison, took possession of this part; the outer wall is well supplied with iron cannon, the gates were strongly guarded by detachments from the citadel. At small distances from the city, stand three high watch-towers, built on eminences, from which they can discover the approach of any enemy, by sea or land, at a great distance. At the south end of the city, there is a large bay formed by a peninsula, which stretches fifteen

T t

wersts

BOOK IX. wersts to the southward, and forms a very spacious commodious harbour, where ships can load and unload close to the gates of the city, in four and a half fathom water, safe from all winds except the south, and from that too they are secured by some small islands, upon which they feed sheep and goats ; by which means this harbour is, without dispute, one of the most commodious for trade, in all the Caspian ; especially with Shamachie, which is reputed to be the largest and most populous city in those parts, and is only three days journey from hence. At Shamachie there are factories from all the eastern nations, which occasions that city to be much resorted to from all parts.

City of Derbent. We stayed only three days at Baku, and proceeding along the coast in deep water, past by several islands and rivers, and came to an anchor before Derbent on the 26th at night ; but as it blew a fresh gale at east, and there is no safe landing-place near this town, I could not go ashore. From Baku to Derbent is ninety English miles by land. We proceeded next morning along the coast, and arrived on the 2d of September, in the river Sulack ; and I went the same evening, in the twelve-oared boat, fifteen wersts up the river, to the fortress of Swetago Krest, or Holy Cross, where I found the fortifications surprisingly advanced, and wooden houses built on both sides of the river in regular streets, agreeable to the plan, and so numerous that the whole army were now lodged in them. The wooden bridge over the river was also finished, with two draw bridges, one at each end, so that an easy communication was opened between the two sides of the river. The troops here were in good health and high spirits, and kept up a weekly correspondence

ence with the garrisons of Derbent and Terki in Circassia; BOOK IX.
 neither of which had been molested by the Dagestan Tar-
 tars since we left them. A number of hands were now em-
 ployed here in making bricks to face the works, and for
 building houses. This fort promises fair to be an effectual
 check upon the irruptions of the Dagestans into the Russian
 territories, in which they used to do much mischief, and
 carry off great numbers of the inhabitants into slavery.
 The multiplicity of the works going forward at this time,
 requiring another engineer, I left my other assistant,
 lieutenant Brackley, here; and having given some farther
 directions about the plan of the place to lieutenant colo-
 nel Brunie, who was chief engineer, I laid in plenty of pro-
 visions in the galley, which was brought up to the town, to
 serve us on our way to Astrachan. I waited on general Wa-
 terang to receive his commands, and take my leave of him,
 and having likewise done so of all the rest of my acquaint-
 ances, we dropped down the river Sulack to the sea.

On the 16th, we coasted along shore, in fine deep water, Gulf of
 and reached, on the 17th, the extremity of the peninsula, Agrechan,
 which forms the gulf of Agrechan, and came to an an-
 chor in the evening, between this point of high land and
 the island of Trentzeni, opposite to the city of Terki in
 Circassia, in six fathom water. This gulf is forty five Eng-
 lish miles from north to south, and twenty from east to
 west.

The island of Trentzeni is the largest in the Caspian sea,
 and notwithstanding its fine harbour, there are no inhabi-
 tants upon it; nor indeed are any of the other islands in-
 habited, excepting that there are a few fishermen's huts to

BOOK XI. be seen on some of them on the west coast, but none on the
east; they are in general stocked with cattle, sheep, and goats.

^{1723.} And now as all the coast from hence to Astrachan had been founded on our former expedition, I judged it needless to coast it again, so that we took our departure, from Trenzeni on the 18th, and steering our course north for Astrachan, we arrived at the mouth of the river Wolga on the 24th of September, having been gone five months and six days on the service: the distance from Trenzeni to this place is one hundred and ninety English miles.

^{General de-}cription of
the Caspian
sea. The Caspian sea, in its utmost length from Jaick, which is its northern extremity, and lies in 46 deg. 15 min. north latitude, to Astrabat, which is its southern extremity, and lies in 36 deg. 50 min. is 9 deg. 25 min. which makes six hundred and forty-six English miles, at sixty-nine miles to a degree. The breadth of the Caspian is various; its greatest breadth to the northward, from east to west, is between the gulf of Yembo and the mouth of the river Wolga, and is two hundred and sixty-five English miles; the broadest part to the southward is from the river Orxantes, on the east side; to the river Linkeran on the west, and is two hundred and thirty-five English miles. Its whole circumference, including gulfs and bays, is three thousand five hundred and twenty-five wersts. The coast of the Caspian, from the point of land forming one side of the gulf of Agrechan, on the west, to the river Kulala in Turkumania, opposite to it on the east, all round by the north, is low, flat, and marshy, overgrown with reed, and the water shallow; the direct distance, from that gulf to Kulala, is one hundred and seventy English miles; on all the rest of the coast from

Kulala

Kulala, by the south, and back to the gulf of Agrechan, book ix.
the country is mountainous, with a bold shore and deep —————
water, as has generally been taken notice of in the course ^{1723.}
of the survey.

Near the mouth of the Wolga, on the isle of Ivan,) or watch tower
John's island,) stands a tower, where a guard is constantly ^{on John's} Island.
kept, who must observe every day whether any increase or
decrease happens in the waters of the sea, but they have not
yet been able to discover the smallest difference ; from which
circumstance it is certain that there is neither flux or reflux
in the Caspian ; and what makes it the more surprising, is
that in the spring, when all the ice and snow melts, and
pours down from the mountains, and all the large rivers and
innumerable lesser ones are swelled to such a degree that they
overflow all their banks, and which all fall into this sea
like a deluge, yet nevertheless it even at those times is not
in the least raised by it, so that it remains a great mystery
what becomes of all the water that perpetually falls into it
from the clouds and rivers. The water is as salt as that of
the ocean, except near the mouths of the rivers, where it
is brackish by the mixture of so much fresh water from them.

I must acknowlege this was the most pleasant jaunt I ever
had in my whole life : we had always plenty of provisions
on board, besides taking and killing such abundance of fish
and wild fowl of various kinds, that we could scarce make
use of them all ; and during the whole voyage, notwithstanding
the violent heat, we had only seven men sick. I
should have found it still more agreeable could we have con-
versed with the Turkumanian and Usbeck Tartars, which
would have enabled me to give some account of them ;
but

BOOK IX. but the Tartars in general, although they have no fixed
 ——— habitations, are very jealous of admitting any strangers
^{1723.} into their country.

On the 25th of September, we got up to Astrachan, where I waited on General Matuskin with a report of my proceeding, and presented him with a draught of the Caspian sea, and gave another to governor Wolinski, who had formerly been ambassador to China, and who was afterwards sent ambassador to Persia; on both which occasions he desired I might be permitted to go with him, but it was refused, although I earnestly petitioned for leave. On his return from his last embassy, he was married to the princess Narfeskin, the emperor's first cousin, being the daughter of his mother's brother, and was at the same time made governor-general over the kingdom of Astrachan.

General Matuskin's marriage to the widow in tears.

General Matuskin, after the taking of Baku, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and was at the same time major of the first regiment of guards, and in great esteem with his majesty. He was an old bachelor when he married a beautiful buxom young widow, whose first husband, major general Glebof of the dragoons, had been concerned in the late troubles with the czarowitz, for which he was condemned, but died in prison, and his estate being confiscated, the widow was reduced to very low circumstances. General Matuskin, who was appointed judge on that trial, was solicited by the mournful widow, who implored him on her knees, bathed in tears, to commiserate her unmerited sufferings, being now reduced to the utmost misery and want. In this supplicating posture, she so captivated the old bachelor, that he directly made her

an offer of himself, and all he had for her relief, which book xi.
the widow joyfully accepted, on which the general applied —————
to the empress to procure his majesty's consent. When the
affair was mentioned to the emperor, he was much dis-
pleased at the general's seeking to match himself with the
widow of a rebel, offering him at the same time any other
lady he should pitch upon ; but the general told him that
it was impossible for him to love any other woman, and
humbly beseeched his majesty to grant his request, otherwise
he would lose one of his most faithful servants : being se-
conded by the empress in his application, his majesty became
at last curious to see this widow, who had made such an
impression on the heart of the old spark ; and when she
was introduced to the emperor, he declared he was not at all
surprised at the conquest she had made, and not only gave
his consent, but honoured their marriage with his presence,
attended by the whole court. The lady ever afterwards
went by the name of the Widow in Tears.

There happened at this time, a great confusion among the Kalmuck Tartars, occasioned by the death of the cham's eldest son, who left five sons ; the eldest of whom, with two others, were born of a concubine, and the two youngest of the best beloved wife : the eldest, whose name was Dafan, claimed the right of succession, in consequence of his seniority, which was a good title, notwithstanding his mother was a concubine ; the two youngest, born of the wife, and whose names were Dunduambu and Batu, claimed in right of the marriage, and were favoured by the old cham, their grandfather, and by his second son, Shurundunduck, their uncle, who threatened prince Dafan with destruction to himself and his hord, or clan, which con-
fisted

Contest among the Kalmucks, and expedition against them.

BOOK XI.
^{1723.} listed of seven thousand men, if he offered to dispute the succession with prince Dunduambu. They were at that time prevented by the old sham, but he dying, prince Shurundunduck told his nephew, Dafan, that he was determined Dunduambu should succeed his grandfather in the sovereignty, and if he would not submit peaceably, he should be compelled to do it. But finding their threats had no effect upon the prince, they began to assemble an army of twenty thousand men, which obliged prince Dafan, with his two brothers, and his whole hord, to retire near to Astrachan, and he with his brothers came into the city, begging to be protected against the usurpation of his younger brother, offering at the same time to submit his claim to the decision of his imperial majesty. Upon this the general and governor held a council, with the principal officers of both the army and garrison, in which it was resolved to send some troops for their protection ; the governor intending to go himself to reconcile the contending parties, if possible.

This being the resolution of the council, governor Wolinski desired me to go with him on this expedition, to which I answered that it was not my turn, but if he would procure an order from the general for my going, I would certainly go with great chearfulness ; and accordingly, on the 20th of October, I received an order to embark with four hundred men of our two battalions, one hundred dragoons, and four field-pieces, to proceed up the river to the place appointed for the rendezvous by prince Dafan ; the governor proposing to follow immediately with some more troops, sent me before to satisfy the impatience of the prince.

On

On the 22th, we arrived at the desert of Beriket, sixty book ix. where we pitched our tents, but ————— it being intensely cold, Dafan provided us with sixty kib-
1723. Description of their kib-
bets.
bets, which is the name of their tents, which are both warm and large, having a fire in the middle, and a hole at the top to let out the smoke; they are twenty-four feet diameter, and capable of being enlarged or contracted at pleasure; they are all round, the sides being made of a kind of checkered wicker-work, and the cross sticks neatly jointed for folding together or extending: when they erect a kibbet, they join as many of them together as will make a circle, of the dimension they choose, and having fixed the outside, which is six feet high, they raise with their lances a round board, three feet diameter, with a hole in the middle of it, and small holes all round the edge; the large hole serves for their chimney, the small holes receive the ends of so many strait rafters, and the other ends being fixed to the sides, the roof is formed, which is both ingenious and pretty: having thus erected the frame of the kibbet, they cover it over with thick felt, more or less according as the season is cold or warm, beginning at the bottom and proceeding to the top, where they place a krine, which they can turn at pleasure against the wind, to prevent smoke. The kibbet is surprisingly warm, and withstands wind and rain better than a house, and they are erected with greater ease in and less time than we could set up an officer's tent. Prince Dafan, with his hord, was encamped at two wersts distance from us, and sent us several cattle and sheep for provisions to our party: he sent also a jar of spirits

U u

distilled

BOOK IX distilled from mares milk, for the officers, which was as
— clear as water but strong, and of an agreeable flavour.

1723.

On the 23d, we were reinforced by a detachment of two hundred men from our battalions, and three hundred and fifty Cossacks, which made us now a body of one thousand and fifty strong. By this opportunity I received a letter from the governor, telling me that he would join us himself in two or three days, but not a word of orders how we were to act, in case any exigence should require it ; being the senior officer I took the command of the whole till the governor should arrive. On the arrival of this reinforcement, prince Dafan sent more cattle for their provision, and a sufficient number of kibbets for their accommodation. This evening we received intelligence that Shurundunduck, and his nephew, Dunduambu, were encamped with an army of twenty thousand strong, opposite to Zornayar, which being upwards of one hundred and fifty wersts from us, made us conjecture it would take some time before they could come up with us ; but we soon found our mistake, for we were alarmed very early in the morning of the 24th by the breaking up of prince Dafan's camp, and seeing his people coming towards us in the utmost confusion. On this I drew up our men in all haste, and ordered the dragoons and Cossacks to mount and go to prince Dafan's assistance : we soon saw Shurundunduck's army advancing, which obliged Dafan and his people to take refuge in our rear, whom I persuaded to dismount such of his horsemen as had firearms, and to bring as many of his men as had bows and arrows, to fight on foot as we did, and I sent some officers

A battle with
the Kal-
mucks.

and serjeants to draw them up in order : with these we book ix.
formed a square towards the river, and secured their bag-
gage and cattle in our rear. The enemy being advanced
in the form of a crescent, and within gun-shot of us, made
a halt to consult the mode of their attack. Dafan was in
the utmost perplexity, and begged me to keep them at a di-
stance with our great guns and fire-arms, assuring me if
we did not, they would rush in upon us with a very sud-
den and furious attack, and throw us all into confusion.

On this emergency, I was very much at loss how to act,
having no orders, and advised with the rest of the officers ;
when it was agreed to send an interpreter with a drum, to
inform them of his majesty's troops being there for the pro-
tection of prince Dafan, who had entirely submitted the
decision of his claim to his imperial majesty, and that it
was expected they would do the same, being equally sub-
ject to the emperor ; and as the governor of Astrachan
was hourly expected, who might fall upon ways and means
to reconcile their differences, they ought to wait his arri-
val. The messenger was sent, and brought back an answer :
—That they knew very well Dafan had procured Russian
troops to protect him from their just resentment ; but as
they were a free nation, they would do themselves justice,
without submitting to the arbitration of any person what-
ever, and that they were determined to attack their bre-
thren at all hazards, notwithstanding our troops, and if
we interposed in their behalf, and should meet with any dis-
aster, the blame would lay at our own doors.

Having returned this answer they began to advance in a
semicircle, intending to surround us, on which I ordered the

BOOK IX. field-pieces to be fired among them, and then loaded with grape-shot : all this time they avoided coming near our troops, but bent their whole force against their own countrymen, which obliged me to form a front against them, both to the right and left, and then began to play on them with grape-shot and small-arms, which made great havock amongst them, and their horses not being used to the thundering noise of fire-arms, became unmanageable, and threw their whole body into the utmost confusion ; on which our dragoons and Cossacks, seconded by prince Dafan's men, attacked them with such vigour, that they soon gave way on all sides and fled, while we plied them with the field-pieces as long as they were within reach:

We had two dragoons killed in this action, and seven wounded, and five Cossacks killed and seventeen wounded ; five of our soldiers were wounded with barbed arrows ; but of Dafan's men, there were three hundred and seventy-four killed, and upwards of five hundred wounded. Our dragoons and Cossacks returned from the pursuit with sixty-three prisoners, and Dafan's men took some hundreds ; we could not ascertain the loss of the enemy in this short action, but it must have been very considerable. In the evening, when all was over, governor Wolinski arrived, and I acquainted him of the transactions of the day : he was much pleased with the message that had been sent to Dunduambu and Shurundunduck, and especially that we were not the aggressors in the action, nor had fired upon them till we were actually attacked. He said he would have come up sooner, but he did not imagine they would have made an attempt in defiance of our troops, but since they had.

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had done so, he would now consider them as rebels, and make an example of them as such. He then gave orders to hang all the prisoners, (who amounted to some hundreds), and Dafan's men executed the orders with great satisfaction. Among the prisoners was Dunduambu's greatest favourite and principal counsellor, whom Dafan put to the most cruel torture imaginable, and he had no sooner expired under the torment, than they divided his body in four, and stuck up the quarters on so many posts, and his head on another.

The governor, judging from what had happened, that a reconciliation would now be impracticable, advised prince Dafan, with his two brothers, to retire with their people under the cannon of Krasnayar, where they would be safe from any attempt of their enemies, as it was impossible that our troops could remain any longer in the field in that advanced cold season, there being at this time a great fall of snow, which they immediately agreed to. We broke up our camp on the 25th, but we had scarce marched five wersts, when the enemy made their appearance in the same manner they had done the day before, and sent a messenger to the governor, to let him know they were sensible he intended to carry their enemy out of their reach, which they were resolved to prevent, let the consequence be what it would ; nevertheless, if the governor could prevail on Dafan to agree to a partition of the sovereignty with Dunduambu, on reasonable terms, they were willing to hold a conference with him on that head. It was directly agreed that five chief men from each party should meet in the middle space between the two armies, where they conferred together above three hours, without being able to come to

an

BOOK IX. an agreement, and then they returned each to their own party. The enemy having observed that Dafan's party, during the conference, were transporting their wives, children, and cattle over a branch of the Wolga, now set upon Dafan's men with a most furious attack, and numbers were slain on each side before we could come up to prevent it, as the enemy still avoided coming near as much as possible; but upon our horse engaging them, and our firing with our cannon and small arms briskly upon them, they retired quite out of sight. Our dragoons returning from the pursuit, brought back twenty-five prisoners, who assured us, that Shurundunduck was retired towards Zornayar; on which the governor set out for Astrachan, leaving orders with me to see prince Dafan, and his Kalmucks, all over the river, and safe under the cannon of Krafnayar, where I arrived the 30th: but the prince finding his cattle could not subsist in so narrow a district, divided the hord, and distributed them among the numerous islands formed by the several branches of the Wolga, where they were to remain in full security till his majesty's pleasure was known. I set out on the 3d of November, having prince Dafan, and his two brothers, under my convoy, and arrived at Astrachan that evening, where we found every necessary accommodation provided for their reception.

Some odd customs among them.

On this expedition I observed some peculiar customs among the Kalmucks, which I cannot omit mentioning. As I attended the governor into Dafan's tent, we found the prince and his two brothers, with their principal men, seated in a circle round the fire, having a large iron pipe, filled with tobacco, which they handed about from one to another, each

each taking one pull, filled his mouth as full of smoke as it ^{BOOK IX.} would hold, and keeping the smoke a considerable time in their mouths, they at length blew it out at their nostrils; immediately after this they all parted without speaking one word; this we understood to be the conclusion of a consultation among them.

As they are great lovers of horse-flesh, which they prefer to every other kind, and observing we were no admirers of it, prince Dafan entertained us with the flesh of a sucking-foal, both roasted and boiled, and I must confess I never eat any thing more delicious. In mentioning this Tartar nation before, I said they past the winter in the desert of Astrachan; but I was now informed that the greatest part of them live in the desert of Beriket, towards the rivers Jaik and Yembo, bordering on the Turkumanians.

The small-pox is as much dreaded among the Kalmucks as the pestilence amongst us: when any of them are seized with it, they immediately break up their camp and fly, leaving the sick person in one of their worst kibbets with a killed sheep, part of which is roasted and part raw, and a jar of water and some wood for fire; if they recover they follow the hord, which seldom happens, for they almost all die for want of attendance.

They live but four months at most in the deserts, and they inhabit a most pleasant country all the rest of the year; their way of life exactly resembles that of the old patriarchs, their whole occupation consisting in the care of their flocks and herds, fishing, and hunting. When they go upon an expedition, every one takes a sheep with him for his provision, and three horses ^{which he rides alternately;} and

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and when any of them fail, they kill it and divide the flesh, putting pieces of it under their saddles, and after riding some time upon it, they eat it without any farther preparation; this, in their estimation, is the best way of dressing it; they generally return from their excursions with only one horse, having eat all the rest.

Baranetz or
lamb-skin.

I had both heard and read of an herb that grew about Astrachan, called baranetz, or lamb-skin, which was alledged to grow upon a single stalk in the shape of a lamb, and which when ripe was covered over with hair, or wool, and that it consumed all the grass that grew near it, and that when taken off, it served for fine fur for caps, or lining cloaths; but as there is no such herb, I was at a loss to conceive how such a mistake could arise: however, on enquiry, I was informed, that the baranetzs, or lambs, are cut out of the sheep's bellies, a little before their lambing-time, their skins being then in their greatest beauty, with the hair lying in short, smooth, pretty curls, and of different colours, as dark and light greys, black and white; the dark grey are the most valuable, and are sold as high as ten shillings sterlling a piece, and the black at five; the light grey and white at half a crown. This branch of trade is very profitable to the Nagayan Tartars, as the Indians, Persians, and Russians, buy all they can produce. I bought by commission for count Bruce and general Le Fort, of the best kind, to the value of two hundred rubles.

Returns for
Moscow up
the Wolga.

I had orders from general Matuksin to go as soon as possible to Moscow, to deliver my report of the Caspian sea to the emperor; but as there is no possibility of travelling by land to Saratof, I was obliged to wait till the river Wolga

was frozen. On the 8th of January, I set out from Astrachan in sledges on the ice, in company with several others, ————— for Moscow, making in the whole a party of twenty men, all well provided with arms; but as it rained very hard, we went but ten wersts to Saliterdwor. The rain continuing the two following days, the ice became so weak, that some of the horses fell in several times, and it was with much difficulty we saved them from being drowned; so that we could only travel eighty wersts in the two days, and were obliged to lodge both nights on the ice, in the middle of the river, as there was no possibility of getting ashore for the water.

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On the 11th, it being frost, we went fifty wersts, but one of our horses dropt through and was drowned: this night, however, we rested in safety on shore. The next day proved rainy, and we could only go forty wersts, but past this night also on shore. On the 13th, although it was frosty, the ice was so much rent in several places, that it was with much difficulty we could get the horses over the openings; one of them broke his leg, which obliged us to shoot him; and after travelling forty wersts, we were forced to stay all night on the ice. The next day it rained, and the ice became so full of rents, that we were often put to hard shifts to extricate ourselves: two of our sledges and horses fell in, which we saved with great difficulty. At noon we went on shore to refresh the horses, and went to a fisher's hut at a small distance to get some fish: in this interval a party of fifty Kalmuck Tartars, all in armour, surrounded our sledges, where we had left all our fire-arms excepting three; with those we had, cocked in our hands, we ran in haste to the sledges, and secured the rest of our

BOOK IX. arms, the Tartars looking at us with surprize. Their myrza,
 or commander, came up to me and offered me his hand,
^{1724.} saying, in broken Russian, that he knew me since the ac-
 tion with Shurundunduck : we gave him a dram, and he
 went away with his party. They are not to be trusted, for
 the Tartars will rob where they can do it with safety ; this
 accident determined us to be no more without our arms on
 our journey. We travelled this day forty wersts, but would
 not venture on shore all night for fear of the Kalmucks,
 who were encamped thereabouts. On the 15th, we reached
 Zornayar, forty wersts, where we rested on the 16th ; and
 as our horses had now brought us three hundred wersts,
 without relief, no other horses being to be had all the
 way, the men taking provisions and forage with them
 to serve them on the road, their hay being all twisted for
 the easier conveyance, we returned them for Astrachan,
 with a certificate to the governor, at the desire of our con-
 ductors, of the loss of two of the horses, as they belonged
 to government.

On the 17th, being provided with fresh horses, and
 having procured ropes to pull out the horses and sledges in-
 case they should break through the ice again ; the day prov-
 ing rainy, several of our horses fell in, but were saved,
 having a rope fastened to each of them ; and at night we
 reached Stupingar, sixty wersts, and the next day, notwith-
 standing it was hard frost, several of our horses fell in : we
 travelled seventy wersts, and rested the night on shore. On
 the 19th, we went seventy wersts, and at night reached Cza-
 ritza, where our two battalions wintered last year. Here
 we got fresh horses, and next day got to Dubofka, sixty wersts,

in rainy weather ; here we were again supplied with fresh horses, and reached Belekli, seventy wersts. On the 21st, —————
we found the ice so much weakened by the rainy weather,
that we were in continual danger. We got to Kamufinka,
seventy wersts, on the 22d ; and here getting fresh horses,
we could only travel eighty wersts the two following days
under such constant rain, that the water was now a foot
deep over the ice, so that we past the dangerous rents with
the utmost difficulty, and for the night of the 24th, we
took up our quarters on a woody island, making a large
fire to dry ourselves.

On the 25th in the morning, we had got but a short way from the island, before we found the ice so full of large rents, that it was impossible for us to proceed farther upon it, and in endeavouring to make the shore, seven of our sledges fell in through the ice, and five of our horses were drowned : the rest we saved with extreme danger to ourselves, as the ice was continually yielding and breaking under us, till at last after every effort with poles and ropes, we got all safe to the land ; but our sledges and baggage lay six hours in the water, and must have been lost but for the lucky assistance of a party of men who were passing this way, by whose help we got them pulled out, and in about half an hour afterwards, the river broke up with a thundering noise, and nothing but water was to be seen ; so that we had a very narrow and miraculous escape. We fortunately were near a wood, where we made large fires to warm and dry ourselves, being near perished with wet and cold ; and what augmented our misery was the perpetual rains pouring day and night down upon us. Such a rainy season

A narrow escape from the ice.

BOOK IX. son in the time of winter, and the breaking up of the Wolga, had not been known in the memory of man. By ^{1724.} the overturning of my fledge, I lost a whole suit of Tartarian armour, a blunderbuss, a pair of brass barrelled pistols, a silver-hilted sword, a little trunk in which was my pass, and an order to supply us with horses on our way, and some money for my travelling charges.

The three following days, we dragged our fleges with much toil over the sands, and having travelled two hundred and twenty wersts, we reached Saratof on the evening of the 28th : this place is one thousand wersts up the Wolga, from Astrachan. We staid here four days to dry our baggage, which had all been most thoroughly wet ; I got my baranetz, or lambskins, so carefully dried and dressed, that they looked as well as ever. The governor gave me another pass, and an order for horses, in place of that I had lost ; and as this is the first place from which we could travel by land, we left the river Wolga, and proceeded across the country on a hard beaten road of snow, being now quite in another climate, where winter appeared in its full rigour. The governor informed us that the roads were pestered with robbers, on account of the very bad crops last summer, and advised us to be on our guard.

A cruel robbery in the woods.

We left Saratof on the 2d of February, and travelling sixty wersts, arrived in the evening at a single house in a wood ; and next day, after a journey of sixty-three wersts, through one continued wood, we came again to a single house, but when we were within three wersts of it, we saw several fleges before us attacked by robbers, and carried off ; we made all the haste we could to go to their assistance, and

before we got up, the robbers had made off into the wood, BOOK IX.
with the horses and sledges loaded with merchandize : we
found nine men stripped naked, and three soldiers who
had been their escort, killed beside them. We took both
the living and the dead with us to this house, where
we found only a boy, and enquiring of him for the people
of the house, he said they were gone to a fair sixty wersts
off, and were not to come home that night. As we con-
ceived ourselves to be in a very dangerous place, we barricaded
the court-yard belonging to the house, and kept a very strict
watch, placing a centry at each corner ; having our fire-
arms in readiness, we kept ourselves very quiet. One of
our company whose appointment it was to watch the mo-
tions of the boy, observed him at three o'clock in the morn-
ing, go to the back door and open it, but being close be-
hind him, found the boy talking to a man without, in a
very low voice ; two others of our company getting behind
him, pulled the fellow into the house, and fastened the door ;
the stripped travellers no sooner saw him, than they unani-
mously agreed that this fellow was one of the gang who had
robbed them ; upon this we tied him neck and heels, and
upon our looking out at the back door, we discovered a
number of men at a small distance, upon the snow, waiting
as we imagined, for intelligence, but on our firing a few
shot among them, they retired into the wood. We then
proceeded to examine the fellow we had taken, who said he
was the landlord of the house, and was well known to be
an honest man, and had no connection with thieves or
robbers, and threatened that he would make us repent the
injury we had done him in his own house ; but as all those
who

BOOK IX. who had been robbed averred that he was the chief of the gang, and had himself killed one of the soldiers, we determined to carry him and all that were in the house, with us; and accordingly set out.

On the 4th, travelling sixty-four wersts, we came to Pense, a fortified town, with a strong garrison, where we delivered up our prisoner to the governor, and the plundered merchants, on their examination, declared that he was actually the ringleader of the gang; upon which the governor ordered him to be put to the torture, to make him confess where the rest of his companions were to be found; but he was so obstinate, that he would not answer any of the questions that were put to him. On which two of the robbed merchants proposed to go in search of them, if the governor would send a sufficient force to take them, if found, alledging they might be easily traced by the track they had made through the snow, in going into the wood: the governor readily consented, and ordered fifty dragoons, and as many Cossacks, to mount and attend them. The next day in the evening, they returned with twenty-three robbers, and the sledges and horses belonging to the merchants; they were found in huts in a thicket of the wood, not above three miles from the before mentioned house. This wood runs east and west several hundred wersts in length, and its narrowest breadth, where we crossed, is one hundred and sixty wersts, without any inhabitants.

A remarkable discovery of a town, with an account of it. I was here informed by the governor, that about six months ago, a large village, or town, had been discovered by its own inhabitants, who sent a deputation to the emperor for that purpose. This town lies two hundred miles west from

from Pense, and at the same distance from any other inhabited place; it is situated on the side of a lake in the middle of this great wood, and consists of above two thousand families; they gave the following account of themselves.—
In the very troublesome times, after the death of czar Iwan Wasilewitz, the tyrant, to the reign of czar Michael Feodorewitz, (his present majesty's grandfather), a great number of robbers had associated themselves and committed great ravages over all the country; their leader, or commander in chief, was a degraded colonel, and an experienced officer; their depredations were so audacious, that czar Michael Feodorewitz found it necessary to send large detachments of the military against them, but the robbers commonly attacked these parties by surprize and defeated them. The czar on this offered a very high reward for the heads of their leaders, and a free pardon to all the rest. The chiefs being apprehensive that they should one day or other be betrayed by their followers, came to a resolution to make a general plunder, once for all; which they did, and carried off large quantities of corn, horses, cattle, all sorts of labouring utensils, and all the women they could meet with, and retired into those inaccessible woods, where they settled, cleared, and manured the ground, and lived ever since; governed by their own laws, without ever after molesting, or having the smallest intercourse with any of their remote neighbours.

I was also informed, that a wild girl, about eighteen years of age, had been lately taken in the neighbourhood of this town. A woman who lived here, alledged, she was her child, saying, that about eighteen years ago she was going through

BOOK ix. through the wood to see a sick sister of her's : being then
big with child she was seized with her labour-pains, and
^{1714.} was delivered ; and as she was then in extreme agony, she
did not perceive by what means her child was conveyed from
her ; but hearing the common report that a wild girl was
frequently seen in the wood, she always said it could be no
other than the child she had lost.

Many attempts had been made to catch her, but to no
purpose, she being so nimble-footed that none could over-
take her. When the emperor heard of it, he sent or-
ders to the governor to raise the people of the country, and
surround that part of the wood where she had been ob-
served to frequent, and set up their nets with which they
used to catch the deer, and in this manner she was taken
without receiving any hurt ; the girl was immediately sent
to Moscow, under the care of her supposed mother, where
I afterwards saw her. She was of a swarthy complexion,
and I was told she was much overgrown with hair ; she was
very shy of being seen, and always sitting in a dark corner,
trembling with fear when any body approached her. It was
generally supposed she had been suckled by a bear, but how
she subsisted all the time afterwards must remain a secret
till she learns to speak and gives the account herself.

On the 7th of February, having obtained an escort of
twenty Cossacks to conduct me to Saranski, ninety wersts,
and my travelling companions intending to continue here
some time, I left Pense, travelling all the way through one
continued wood, which made it very dangerous on account
of the many robberies and murders committed on the road,
and arrived at Saranski on the evening of the 8th, without
any

any molestation. All the way, however, we went, we met BOOK IX.
many real objects of compassion, wearing the visible marks
of hunger and famine in their countenances, occasioned by
the failure of the last year's crop, which drove many to
seek relief by plunder. After this I travelled through a
well inhabited country, without the least danger, and came
to Arfama, one hundred and twenty wersts; from thence
to Murvin, one hundred and twenty; and from thence to
Wolodimer, one hundred and twenty more; and from
Wolodimer, one hundred and eighty wersts, to the city of
Moscow, where I arrived on the 22d of February. From
Arrival at
Moscow.
Saratof to Moscow it is eight hundred and fifty-six wersts
by land; but following the course of the river, it is one
thousand seven hundred and eighty.

At this time great preparations were making for the
empress's coronation, at which ceremony all the great men
and grantees of the empire had been summoned to appear.
General Matuskin, and governor Wolinski, with the two
battalions of guards I left at Astrachan, were ordered to re-
pair to Moscow with the utmost expedition, and arrived five
weeks after me; which, if I had known, would have
saved me a very troublesome journey besides a great ex-
pence.

The day after my arrival in Moscow, I waited on prince
Menzikof, who ordered me to attend him to his majesty,
and after waiting a quarter of an hour in the antichamber
I was called in, and found there, his majesty, attended by
the duke of Holstein, admiral Apraxin, chancellor Golof-
kin, and the princes Galitzin, Dolgoruki and Romadonof-
ski. The emperor examined the chart of the Caspian sea,

X y

with

BOOK IX. with its gulfs, bays, and soundings, very narrowly; asking
me a great many questions, especially concerning the river

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Daria, of which I presented him with a draft at large, with which he seemed very much pleased, as the drawing exhibited the situation of that river, which appeared to be well calculated for a fort and safe harbour, secure from any attempts that could be made by the Usbeck Tartars. His majesty then gave the duke of Holstein a short account of prince Bekewitz's unfortunate expedition to that place; adding, that if he had had patience till he had been well fortified and settled, and not suffered himself to be over-reached by the treacherous insinuations of the Tartars, by this time he might have been fully master of that valuable river, with all the gold mines; but as he was now in full possession of the provinces on the opposite side of the Caspian sea, he still intended to settle a colony at that place, and to erect forts along the banks of that river, toward the mines, for their protection; and the forts could be easily supplied with provisions from the neighbouring provinces, without having any dependence on the Usbeck Tartars for them. From all this discourse, I apprehended I should be again sent to those parts very much against my inclination. After I had given an account in what forwardness the fortifications of Swetego-Krest, on the river Sulack were, and of our expedition against the Kalmuck Tartars, I was dismissed, being ordered by prince Menzikof to attend the duke of Holstein's levee while he remained in Moscow.

B O O K X.

The duke of Holstein.—The fall of baron Siefirof.—The captain endeavours to get his discharge.—A dignified troop of chevaliers.—A description of the cathedral.—Procession to the coronation of the empress.—Coronation ceremony.—Procession to the church of St. Michael.—Procession to the church of the Resurrection.—Dinner in the hall of solemnities.—New mode of promotion.—The captain obtains his furlough.—The captain leaves Moscow.—A Swedish colonel at Riga suspected of having shot Charles the XIIth of Sweden.—The captain embarks for Scotland.—Puts into Erdholm, a Danish harbour and fort.—Description of the harbour.—Departs for Elsingohr.—Driven into Marstrand dismasted.—Quarrel between Carnegie and his mate.—He arrives in Scotland.

HIS royal highness Charles duke of Holstein, was the BOOK X. only son of the eldest sister of Charles the XIIth, 1724. king of Sweden, whom that monarch intended for his successor; he was now betrothed to the princess Anne, the emperor's eldest daughter; his highness was in the 25th year of his age, of the middling size, well proportioned; his lips were thick, and his tongue large, which occasioned a defect in his speech; in attending, when very young, his uncle, the king of Sweden, a winter's campaign in Poland, where the cold was very intense, and seeing the king endure it with so much indifference, the prince was ashamed to complain, till at last his toes were so severely frost-bitten, that they began to mortify, and he was obliged to have some of them cut off; the prince was very affable, and of a cheerful disposition, fond of all kinds of diversions. He was now lodged in the Inoifemiska Slaboda, (or quarter of foreigners),

^{1724.} BOOK X. ers) : all manner of diversions were here practised for his amusement ; he was much pleased with the English country-dances, and as I was pretty well acquainted with them, I was always next to his highness at those entertainments.

I had the good fortune to be so much in his favour, that he asked if I wished to enter into his service. I replied, that I would accept the honor with great pleasure if I could obtain my discharge from the emperor's : his highness said he would speak to prince Menzikof about it, which he did next day, and the prince told him that his majesty would grant it at his desire, notwithstanding his intention to send me on an expedition over the Caspian sea, to fortify and secure the harbour at the mouth of the river Daria ; which information put a stop to all my hopes. This disappointment made me resolve to get out of this state of slavery at any rate, from which it was impossible for any one that was serviceable to extricate himself with honour.

The fall of
baron Sha-
firof.

On my return to Moscow, I had the mortification to hear the disagreeable account of the fall and disgrace of my former benefactor, baron Shafirof, the vice-chancellor, in whose suite I was a year at Constantinople, where he was an hostage, and afterwards ambassador ; he was without dispute one of the ablest ministers in the whole empire, very high in the esteem of the emperor, who always employed him in negotiations of the greatest importance. The baron's misfortune was occasioned by his endeavouring the ruin of prince Menzikof, which at last ended in his own. When his majesty set out on his expedition to Persia, he appointed prince Menzikof regent of the empire in his absence : by the assistance of baron Osterman, the prince discovered that

the vice-chancellor had embezzled large sums out of the public revenue, and that he had concealed two hundred thousand ducats in specie, besides jewels to the value of seventy thousand ducats, the property of the late Knez Gagarin, whose daughter was married to baron Shafirof's son. When prince Gagarin was executed, it was made death to any person who should conceal his effects, and the baron himself published the decree ; the baron also stood charged with several other crimes, for all which he was condemned to be beheaded, and was so near suffering the sentence, that his neck was on the block, when the sentence was mitigated to perpetual banishment into Siberia. Osterman succeeded the baron in the office of vice-chancellor ; baron Shafirof had raised him from a low degree, and was afterwards rewarded with ingratitude ; he was by birth a German, from a small town belonging to the duke of Mecklenburgh, of mean parents, and the baron passing through that country, engaged him as a servant ; in this service he so ingratiated himself with his master, that he raised him by degrees to the office of secretary in chancery, and as such he was sent as secretary to count Bruce to the congress at Aland ; where he conducted himself with such address, that he was appointed the count's colleague, in which situation he behaved with much haughtiness : yet, after betraying his master and benefactor, he succeeded him as vice-chancellor, and after the death of count Golofskin, he was promoted to the office of high-chancellor : but when the empress Elizabeth ascended the throne of Russia, Osterman was banished to Siberia, there to bewail his former ingratitude, meeting with the reward due to all ungrateful persons.

In

BOOK X. In the beginning of March, I presented a petition to the college of war, in which I represented my services for thirteen years in their army ; that the situation of my own private affairs in Scotland, where I had not been for twenty years, now required my personal presence to regulate them ; and desired my discharge from this service for that purpose. Prince Menzikof and the other generals seemed surprised at my request, telling me that his majesty had signified his pleasure to give me one of the regiments that were then under the command of general Waterang, at Swetego-Krest on the river Sulack ; from this I saw plainly that it was determined to send me once more over the Caspian to the river Daria, to lead a sad life among the Usbeck Tartars : I told them it was impossible for me then to accept the honour his majesty meant to bestow on me, as the situation of my affairs would not suffer me to remain longer in their service ; and the board then absolutely refused to grant my discharge. I now urged to them the privilege promised by his majesty to all foreigners, that they were not to be detained in the service against their own inclination ; to this they replied, that they did not look on me as a foreigner, but as one of themselves ; to this compliment I only answered by a low bow, and retired.

As I had received a promise from his majesty before we set out on this expedition into Persia, that upon our return he would give me leave to go and see my friends, I now laid my case before the duke of Holstein, who advised me to present a memorial to the emperor the next day, at eleven o'clock, when he would be with him ; which I accordingly did, and had for answer, that my discharge could not be granted, but that I should get a furlough

lough for one year, to go and see my friends, and settle my affairs ; at the expiration of which it was expected I should return. Upon my accepting these conditions, I received his majesty's order to prince Menzikof, to grant me a furlough : upon my producing the order to the war office, they demanded that count Bruce and general Le Fort should become sureties for my return, which I refused, telling them that the furlough his majesty had granted me was sufficient, which I insisted upon ; on this the office forced me to give an obligation under my hand, to return at the end of the year, which they conceived in the strongest terms they could express, and gave me the alternative, to sign it, or remain where I was : the matter being so far settled, they told me that as soon as the empress's coronation was over I should receive my dispatches.

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The city of Moscow was now vastly crowded with foreigners as well as natives, where all people of rank, belonging to this great empire, were obliged to attend, every one endeavouring to out-do another in grand equipages, so that nothing now was minded but assemblies, balls, masquerades, and grand entertainments, such as had never before been known in this part of the world. Yet every body was much surprised that neither the grand duke, nor his sister the grand-duchess, the children of the late czarowitz, were to be present at this solemnity, but were left unnoticed at Petersburgh.

To aggrandize the coronation, a troop of chevaliers, or A dignified horse-guards, were raised, mounted on fine horses ; lieutenant-general lagusinski commanded them as captain ; major-general Mamonof, as lieutenant ; brigadier-general Le-

went of,

^{1724.} BOOK X. went of, was cornet ; the quartermasters were colonels, the corporals lieutenant-colonels, and the sixty troopers were all captains. Their coats were green cloth, the waistcoats scarlet richly laced with gold ; on their breasts and backs the emperor's arms in embroidery ; their cartouch cases were of crimson velvet, with cyphers embroidered in gold ; their grenade pouches and belts of crimson velvet and gold ; their sword hilts gilt, and white cockades in their hats ; their holsters and pistol-cases ornamented with cyphers in gold, laced and fringed with the same ; the bitts of the bridles, breast and crupper-leathers, were covered with massive gold, and their kettle drums and trumpets were silver, with the emperors arms in embossed work of gold and silver.

Description of the cathedral. The cathedral in which the ceremony of coronation was to be performed, was richly adorned and illuminated with a number of branches in form of crowns, and a very large one in the middle of fine silver of exquisite workmanship ; they were all full of wax candles gilt. The steps to the altar, and the pavement of the church to the throne, were covered with rich tapestry wrought with gold ; in the middle of the church was a canopy of crimson velvet, adorned with the arms of Russia, viz. an eagle, sable, with an escutcheon on its breast, of St. George killing the dragon, and all round it was the ribbon of the order of St. Andrew, and on the two sides were the arms of the kingdoms of Casan, Astrachan, Siberia, &c. the canopy was embroidered with gold raised-work, with rich fringes, ribbons, tufts, gold lace, &c. it was supported at the four corners with pillars covered with red and gold silk. Under this canopy was the throne ; the steps and pavement of which were covered with

with crimson velvet, on which were placed two elbow chairs BOOK X. for their imperial majesties, which glittered with precious stones, and a long table covered with cloth of gold, which hung down to the ground : their usual seats in the church were covered inside and out with cloth of gold, and the bottom was covered with red velvet trimmed with gold ; a place was made near the throne, for the royal princesses, adorned with tapestry and cloth of gold, with an eagle of gold embroidery sparkling with jewels.

Her imperial majesty prepared herself for her coronation, by three days fasting and prayer, and the people had notice given them by the secretary of the chancery, preceded by an officer, with kettle-drums and trumpets.

The 7th of May, the day appointed for the grand coronation, eight battalions and four companies of grenadiers Procession to the coronation of the emperors. of the guards were, early in the morning, drawn up in the kremelin, or fort of the palace ; our grenadiers lined the road from the palace to the cathedral, opposite to which was St. Michael's church, the burying-place of his majesty's ancestors ; the road between them was lined by two battalions, and the road from the cathedral to the gate of the kremelin was lined by the other six battalions ; and from the gate to the monastery of the Resurrection, the burying place of the princesses of the czarian family, was lined by the regiments of Le Fort and Buterski, who supplied the place of four battalions of our division then at Petersburgh.

At nine o'clock in the morning, the clergy met in the church, and read prayers for the prosperity of their imperial

BOOK X. majesties, and then went in their pontificals, and joined the procession, which began at ten in the following order.

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1. One half of the horse-guards.
 2. The empress's pages, and their governor.
 3. The deputy-master of the ceremonies, Williaminof, with his mace.
 4. The deputies of the provinces.
 5. The brigadier-generals,
 6. The major-generals,
 7. The lieutenant-generals,
- } in pairs by seniority:
8. The two great heralds at arms of the empire, Pleshof and count Souffe, both in habits of crimson, and gold embroidery, with the imperial eagle wrought upon them, with their staves in their hands.
 9. The grand-master of the ceremonies, Shubarof, with his mace.
 10. Knez Demetri Galitzin and baron Osterman, privy-counsellors, carrying, on two cushions, the imperial mantle, which was of cloth of gold lined with ermine; the clasps were set with many large brilliants; and on the mantle was embroidered, in relieveo, the imperial eagle.
 11. Knez Dolgoruki, a privy-counsellor, carrying on a cushion the globe, which was of fine gold, with a cross on the top of it set with diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and emeralds: this globe was much admired, as being the workmanship of ancient Rome.
 12. Count Pushkin, a privy-counsellor, carrying on a cushion, the scepter, enamelled and adorned with diamonds and rubies, with the imperial eagle at the top; the same

that was used at the coronation of the ancient emperors of BOOK X.
Russia.

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13. Count Bruce, a privy-counsellor and master of the ordnance, carrying the crown, which was immensely rich with brilliants, several of which were very large, besides fine oriental pearls of an extraordinary size and an even water; among the other precious stones, of various colours, in this crown, there was a true oriental ruby of uncommon lustre as large as a pigeon's egg, and supposed to be the richest that has yet been known; this supplied the place of a globe on the top of the crown, and the cross was all covered over with brilliants.

14. Count Tolstoi, grand-marshall, with his staff in his hand, on the top of which was an imperial eagle of massive gold, and an emerald as big as a hen's egg.

15. His imperial majesty, Peter the Great, supported by prince Menzikof and knez Repnin.

16. Her imperial majesty, Catherine, led by his royal highness the duke of Holstein, and attended by the high admiral count Apraxin, and the high chancellor count Golofhin; her train was borne by the princess of Menzikof, the duchess of Trubetzkoi, the countess of Golofkin, the countess of Bruce, and general Butterlin's lady; they were followed by twelve married, and twelve unmarried ladies, clad in robes, and walking in pairs.

17. The married ladies were, four lieutenant-generals ladies, viz. Jaguzinski, Matuskin, Dolgoruki, and Kurakin; eight major-general's ladies, viz. Gunther, Zernishof, Balk, Le-Fort, Trubetzkoy, Ushakoff, Romanzof, and Cirkaski;

BOOK X. kaski ; these were followed by twelve young ladies of the first quality, in pairs.

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18. The colonels, and other military officers, and those of the national nobility summoned to attend, all walking in pairs.

19. The other half of the horse-guards closed the procession ; during which, all the bells in Moscow rang, which was accompanied with the music of the drums and trumpets.

Coronation ceremony.

The procession having entered the cathedral, the regalia were placed on a long table set there for that purpose ; and the duke of Holstein having led the empress to the throne, retired to his place, and the emperor led her to her seat, attended by prince Menzikoff and knez Repnin, and the counts Apraxin and Golofkin, and the ladies who bore the train ; their majesties being seated, the archbishops and other prelates also sat down, but the gentlemen and ladies stood during the whole course of the ceremony : when the anthem was sung, the emperor stood up, and taking the scepter from the table, ordered the great-marshall to call the archbishops and prelates, enjoining them to proceed to coronation. The archbishop of Novogorod then addressed the empress thus : “ Orthodox and great empress, most gracious lady, may it please your majesty to repeat the creed Athanasian of orthodox faith, in the presence of your loyal subjects.”—The empress having repeated this creed, kneeled down on a cushion, and received the archbishop’s benediction, and after prayers were said, her majesty stood up, and two archbishops took the coronation mantle, and presented it to the emperor, who put it on the empress,

with-

without laying the sceptre out of his hand ; their majesty's ^{BOOK X.} then kneeling down, the archbishop said prayers, at the conclusion of which their majesties rose up, and the emperor, taking the crown, placed it upon her head, but still held the scepter himself ; the archbishops then pronounced their benediction in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and put the imperial globe into her majesty's hand. This being done, their majesties took their seats and received the compliments both of the clergy and laity, while the choir sung their usual anthem for their prosperous reign ; at the conclusion of which there was a general salvo from all the artillery, and the bells of the whole city were rung.

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This done, their majesties being conducted from the throne with the same ceremonies with which they ascended, they proceeded to the foot of the altar, and from thence to their usual seats ; and during the liturgy her majesty took off her crown, which was committed to the charge of the secretary of the cabinet ; and after the prayers for the communion service were sung, the emperor led her majesty, who was dressed in the crown and imperial mantle, along a walk of scarlet velvet, doubled, and tapestry wrought with gold, to the sanctuary, where she kneeled on a cushion embroidered with gold, where two bishops attended with the holy oil in separate vessels, and an archbishop anointed her on the forehead, breast, and hands, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ; other archbishops wiped off the oil with cotton, and the archdeacon attending with the holy sacrament, said aloud, " Approach with piety and faith." — Upon which she received the consecrated bread from the archbishop, with a little warm wine ; two arch-priests of the

BOOK X. the cathedral carried a gold basin, and an abbot held a gold
ewer full of water to wash, and two other abbots held the
^{1724.} napkin for her majesty to wipe her hands. This done, their
majesties retired to their seats, and there was a second salvo
from the guns, and ringing of the bells in the city. At the
close of the service, the archbishop of Pleskow made an ha-
rangue, in which he mentioned the rare virtues of the em-
press, and shewed how well she deserved that crown which
she had now received from God and her husband; and con-
cluded with a congratulation to their majesties in the name
of the states of the empire.

Procession to
the church of
St. Michael.

When this office was over, the duke of Holstein went
to attend the empress to the church of St. Michael, to which
she walked much in the same order as she came from the pa-
lace, but with her crown and mantle on, and under a rich
canopy, supported by six major-generals on poles of massive
silver, on each of which were eight eagles of silver gilt,
with crowns, &c. and tufts of solid gold, hung to gold
twist; the scepter and globe were carried before her, and
her train borne up as before; prince Menzikof walked be-
hind the empress, supported by Printzenstein, chancellor of
the exchequer, and Pleskof, president of the chamber of
finances, each carrying a purse of scarlet velvet embroid-
ered with gold, in which were medals of gold and silver,
which the prince threw away among the populace in the
way to church; when her majesty arrived at the door, an
archbishop met and walked before her with a crucifix; while
the litanies were singing, the empress went and paid her de-
votions at the tombs of the emperor's glorious ancestors; at
her leaving this church, there was a third salvo of the guns
and

and bells, with kettle-drums and trumpets ; and the joyful BOOK X.
shouts of the people rent the skies.

From hence her majesty went in a coach drawn by eight
horses to the monastery of Wosnesinki, or the Resurrection,
the place of interment for the ladies of the imperial blood :
she was attended

1724.
Procession to
the church of
the Resurrec-
tion.

1. By one half of the horse-guards, and their officers.
2. Twenty-four valets on foot, marching four a-breast ;
their coats were green faced with scarlet ; their waistcoats
scarlet spread over with gold and silver lace ; their hats
laced with gold, and the hilts of their swords gilt.
3. Twelve pages in green liveries, the facing and vest of
cloth of gold, scarlet silk stockings with gold clocks, and
their sword-hilts silver gilt.
4. The empress in a most magnificent coach, drawn by
eight horses, with four running footmen before, richly drest,
and twelve chamberlains and other officers of the court
magnificently drest, marching on both sides of the coach.
5. Twelve heydukes also on both sides of the coach, at
a proper distance from the chamberlains, clad in green coats
and scarlet waistcoats richly embroidered with gold, with
the emperor's arms and cyphers, the sleeves fringed with
gold, and turned up with scarlet velvet ; their scarlet velvet
caps were edged with green velvet and gold twist, with a star
of gold embroidery, with a tuft of an apple of silver ; on
the sides were two silver eagles, and two herons of silver,
with a plume of red and white feathers behind ; instead of
a belt they wore two silver chains, fastened to a stripe of
scarlet velvet with gold twist ; the hilts of their sabres were
large and gilt ; their boots, which were of Morocco leather,

were

BOOK X. were adorned with buttons, and other ornaments, the work
of the goldsmith.

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6. Lieutenant-general Lacey rode behind the coach, with two heralds at arms, and threw gold and silver medals among the populace, which were carried for that purpose in purses by the proper officers.

7. Six negroes dreſt in black velvet edged with gold, instead of scarves and bracelets, they had ornaments of red and white feathers, and they had plumes of the same in their turbans, which were faced with muslin; their collars were of silver marked with their majesties cypher.

8. His royal highness the duke of Holstein in a coach and six, with rich blue liveries.

9. The counts Apraxin and Golofkin, in one coach and six, with their servants in rich liveries.

10. Two coaches and six, with the ladies of the first rank.

11. The other half of the horse-guards closed the procession, and in their passing by were saluted with the points of our spontoons, and colours pointed to the ground, the music playing and drums beating till they were past.

At the monastery, the empress was handed out of the coach by the duke of Holstein; her train was borne as before; and having performed her devotion at the tombs of the ladies of the imperial family, in that monastery, she returned to the palace, and was handed by the duke of Holstein to her apartments where the emperor expected her, and where they past some time while the service was getting ready in the hall of solemnities.

Dinner in the
hall of solemn-
ties.

This hall, for its largeness and ornaments, is one of the finest in Europe, and the windows being proportionably large makes

makes it very light ; the roof rests on one single pillar in the middle, the cornices and pedestals are of fine work in plaster of Paris ; all the wainscotting is of curious workmanship, and three feet in height ; all round was hung with crimson velvet and rich cloth of gold ; the floor was covered with Persian carpets of extraordinary size and beauty. Round the pillars a table was set, with vessels of gold and silver, adorned with precious stones and pearls ; the table where their majesties were to eat was set upon a raised floor, covered with scarlet velvet, laced with gold, under a canopy of the same, bordered round with deep gold fringe ; the table, where the duke of Holstein was to eat alone, was at a little distance from the other in the middle of the hall ; and at some little distance below that was a table for the ladies, also in the middle of the hall ; and on each side were long tables, one for persons of the first quality, particularly those who had assisted at the coronation ; another for the prelates and principal clergy who had officiated on the same occasion ; at the lower end of the hall was a theatre for the music. Their majesties, and the duke of Holstein, were served in gold plate, the other three tables in silver.

When every thing was ready, the company moved for the hall, and entered in the following order :

1. The master of the ceremonies.
2. The two cup-bearers, and count Apraxin, who officiated as carver during the feast.
3. The great steward, followed by the grand marshal.
4. The emperor, and his two supporters.
5. The empress, led by the duke of Holstein, and supported as in the former procession ; the train of the imperial

BOOK X. rial mantle being borne by the five ladies beforementioned.

^{1724.} 6. The principal ladies of quality, both of the court and empire, with her majesty's maids of honour.

7. The other persons of distinction both sexes, clergy and laity.

When their majesties were under the canopy, an archbishop said grace, and then the whole company placed themselves according to their rank. At every course the grand marshal gave orders to the master of ceremonies to go with the officers and order it: all the officers in waiting stood at the hall door, from the first to the last, to receive the dishes, which they carried up to the table in the following order:

1. The grand marshal.

2. The great steward.

3. The chief carver.

4. The officers who carried the services, who were all colonels; each dish was guarded by two gentleman of the horse-guards, with their carbines.

5. The master of the ceremonies.

The great steward ranged the dishes, and took them off, every time bending the knee, and all the others who waited on their majesties with plates or glasses, served them on the knee: they eat and drank out of gold, and the pyramids of sweetmeats were served up to the royal tables in gold plate; the duke of Holstein was also served in gold, by officers of the first rank.

There were at the same time before the hall, oxen and all manner of fowls roasted for the populace, and on a

stage erected there, were fountains of red and white wines running for them to drink. BOOK X.

Before the court rose from table, prince Menzikof distributed to every person of rank and distinction, who had assisted at the ceremony, a large medal of gold representing it ; and then their majesties returned to their apartments in the same order they had entered, and the officers in waiting, with those of the horse and foot guards, filled the tables, and when the repast was over, we returned to our respective quarters. The whole night was spent in great rejoicings, by fire-works, illuminations, bonfires, drums, music, and ringing of bells ; the streets swarmed all night long with crowds of people. The three following days, the empress received the congratulations of all the foreign ministers, and the deputies of the provinces.

On the fourth day, her majesty gave a very grand entertainment, and in the evening was exhibited a magnificent fire-work, representing the emperor placing the crown on her head, with this motto, " From God and the Emperor ;" the city was again completely illuminated, and universal joy displayed itself in every form.

The whole concluded by a general promotion at court, A new mode of promotion. and in the army and navy, in the Venetian manner, by balloting, and this was the mode ; a white iron box was made with three apertures, and a round opening before, to admit a man's hand ; the three apertures were painted white, red, and black ; the white for advancement, the red was against it, and the black denoted incapacity. The box was covered with scarlet cloth, and every person qualified to ballot, had a little ball of white leather given him, which

A a a 2

he

BOOK X. he could put into either of the apertures without its being observed. Brigadier Knez Uspof, a major in the guards,
¹⁷²⁴ was to stand the ballot for a major-general, and all the officers of the guards, being eighty-four in number, were summoned to give their suffrages; but when the boxes were examined, there was found thirty-two to twenty-three against him, and twenty-nine, declared him incapable. His majesty was very much surprised at this, as knez Uspof was well known to be a very brave officer, and one who had always observed strict discipline, which was thought the real cause of his having so many enemies; on this the balloting was entirely laid aside, and promotions went on according to the usual form.

The captain obtains his furlough.

I had now once more an offer of preferment made me, but as I conceived it intended to detain me in the service, I begged to be excused accepting any till after my return from Britain; but finding prince Menzikoff, at the instigation of count Bruce, very much bent for my staying, I laid my case in such strong terms before the count, that he at last consented and spake of it to the prince, who at length granted my much wished furlough on the 27th of May. I received the pay and forage money due to me from the regiment, but could not get the two years pay that was due to me as engineer, and which amounted to twelve hundred rubles, but was told the money appropriated for the payment of that service was at Petersburgh, and I must go there to receive it; which if I had done, would have effectually put a stop to my journey. I empowered major-general Le Fort to receive my pay, and sell my house and furniture in Petersburgh, and to remit me the money to Scotland;

but

but a stop was put to it till my return, and at the expiration of my furlough, every thing I had left there was seized, so that I had no reason to boast of any advantage I reaped in Russia, after thirteen years service.

BOOK X.

1724.

Their majesties left Moscow on the 27th of May, on their journey to Petersburg, and I set out the 28th. I arrived at Novogorod the 7th of June, from thence crossing the lake Ilmen, fifty miles, to the river Solon, and twenty miles up that river to Sultza by land, from thence by Pleskow and Petzora, two strong fortified towns, I got to to Wenden in Livonia, on the 15th. This place had formerly been a place of strength, but its fortifications now lay in ruins; and on the 17th, I arrived at Riga, which is one thousand thirty-six wersts from Moscow. Field marshal Knez Repnin, governor of this city, arrived two days after me. I immediately waited on the governor, and shewed him my pass, and notwithstanding our former difference, on my having refused the offer he made me of being his aide-de-camp, he behaved very civilly to me, and offered me his table while I staid in that city. I lodged with colonel Berens of the artillery, who married a niece of the countess of Bruce.

The captain leaves Moscow.

The colonel took me to the cathedral, and pointing out a mark on the wall, four feet and a half from the ground, told me that the waters of the Dwina, at the breaking up of the ice last year, had risen to that mark, and overflowed the whole city; and that there happened to be a wedding celebrating in a wooden house without the town, near the river, which was quite full of people, and by the sudden rising

BOOK X. rising of the water, the house was overturned in the height of their merriment, and every person drowned.

^{1724.} A Swedish colonel at Riga suspect-
ed of having shot Charles the XIIth of Sweden.

As I was dining at an ordinary one day, with several of my acquaintances, there happened to be at the table a Swedish colonel and a lieutenant-colonel, who was born dumb, and had been a great favourite with the late king of Sweden. While we were at dinner, the governor's aid-de-camp came in, and addressing himself to the Swedish colonel, ordered him in the emperor's name to leave Riga immediately, otherwise he would be proceeded against as a traitor. The Swede immediately getting up from the table, quitted the room, pale and trembling. On our enquiring into the reason of this sudden order to the colonel, we were informed that he was suspected of having shot the late king of Sweden, in the trenches before Frederickshal. It seems that some of the company had by signs, made the dumb lieutenant-colonel understand the affair, on which he ran after him with his sword drawn, and, but for the interposition of the aid-de-camp and some others with him, he would certainly have killed the colonel, who was safely conducted over the river Dwina, which divides Livonia from Courland, and was followed by his servants and baggage. It was observed that while he resided in Riga, large remittances had come to him from Stockholm, which made it generally suspected that he had been highly bribed to commit the regicide. The colonel made haste to get into Poland, intending to pass through that kingdom into Turkey, where he was well acquainted, having attended the king of Sweden all the time that prince resided in Bender; but as

he

he was no more heard of, it was generally thought he had BOOK X.
been murdered in Poland.

I had proposed travelling by the way of Berlin, but now finding the ship Isabella, bound for Montrose, John Carnegie, master, I took my passage with him, who undertook to lay in a stock of fresh provisions. The ship went down the river the 28th of June, and I followed the next day, attended by many of my acquaintances to fort Dunamand, where I went on board, and that evening we dropt down to the mouth of the river. We sailed on the 30th of June, with a fair wind, and past the islands of Runen and Oesel, but the wind turning against us toward night, I began to enquire into the state of our provisions, which consisted of salt beef, peas, barley, biscuit, and bad beer. The master pretended that in the hurry he had forgot to lay in fresh meat, which was a great disappointment to me, as I never could eat salt meat, but for the kind concern of colonel Berens's lady, who, without my knowlege, had sent plenty of all sorts of provisions on board, which sufficiently made up the master's deficiency. The wind continuing foul we bore away for the isle of Gothland, and on the 2d of July, we passed the town of Wisby: in passing along the coast of this island, I observed a number of churches with steeples, not above a mile distant from each other. We endeavoured to make the isle of Oeland, but could not fetch it, and after beating three days to little purpose, I persuaded the master to come to an anchor at the Iunfer Sheren, near the coast of Sweden, where I went ashore with four men in the boat, at some fishing huts, but finding no body in them, and passing a little way into a wood, we came to a number of people

^{1724.}
The captain
embarks for
Scotland.

BOOK X. people of both sexes, burning lime-stone, and an old man
^{1724.} shewed us the way through part of the wood, to a village, where I bought two sheep, some fowls, eggs, and butter, and returning to the vessel, we got under way again ; but the wind continuing unfavourable, we made little progress. On the 8th, after a hard gale of wind, with the sea breaking over us all day long, and meeting a Dutchman, who had lost his main-mast in a gale, we got sight of Oeland. On the 9th, the wind turned in our favour, which lasted till ten o'clock next morning, being then near the island of

Puts into Erd- Bornholm; but the wind suddenly changing, we were forced
holm, a Da- back again, which obliged us to run into the harbour of
nish harbour and fort.

Erdholm. On a signal, a pilot came on board, who more through design than ignorance, ran the vessel on a rock at the entrance of the harbour, so close to the shore, that the military who stood there, saw distinctly all our motions on deck, and although they knew our distress, and boats were in plenty by them on the shore, not one of them offered to advance one step to our assistance. When our warp anchor was putting out, the governor observing that I was better at directing than working, concluded from thence that I was a passenger, although I was clad in seaman's cloaths, sent his adjutant off in a boat, offering to bring me on shore with my effects, which I readily accepted, and coming up to the governor, we knew each other, being formerly acquainted both in Flanders, and at Copenhagen when the Russian army was there; but before I would enter into any conversation, I pleaded so effectually with him for assistance to get the vessel off the rock, that he sent boats sufficient to take in as much of the cargo as lightened her enough

enough to get off, so that she did not sustain the least damage: she had scarce got into the harbour, before such a heavy gale came on, as would have beat her to pieces had she remained a quarter of an hour longer on the rock; so that the saving of this ship and cargo was entirely owing to my acquaintance with the governor.

This harbour belongs to Denmark, and is one of the best in Europe; it has an entrance from the south and <sup>A description
of the har-
bour.</sup> one from the north, both commanded by forts; they are just broad enough to let one ship at a time pass with ease. It is of a round form, and large enough to contain two hundred sail of ships; and so deep, that they can lay close to the shore. It is of great convenience to the king of Denmark for his ships in war time, as they can enter in at one side and go out at the other. The island itself is an entire rock, without either earth or sand; yet the governor and officers in garrison, have transported earth enough from the island of Bornholm, four German leagues, to make gardens for themselves.

Colonel Hirshnach was the present governor, and had his own regiment in garrison here: they are in a manner secluded from the world, as no ships ever come in here but through stress of weather or foul winds. There were at this time in the harbour, thirteen ships, Dutch and English, but they are sometimes a year or two, without seeing a ship; in summer they frequently visit, and are visited by their neighbours in Bornholm, several of whom were now here; and dancing and card-playing, the only diversions the place afforded, went forward: sometimes in a fine day they went in boats to the rocks, (which are in great numbers about

BOOK X. the island), to gather feathers or down from the nests of the wild ducks, of which the governor makes about four hundred dollars a year.

As the Danes at this time were apprehensive the Russians intended an attempt on Holstein, in favour of its duke, the governor would not suffer me to go near either of the forts, seeing from my pass that I was only on furlough ; but when I had satisfied him that I did not intend to return to the Russian service, he conducted me to both himself, when I readily admitted an apology for his prudence from the defenceless state in which I found them ; he told me he had often, in vain, solicited for an engineer to put them in a respectable condition, and now asked my opinion on what was necessary to be done for their better defence, and said he had often solicited for an engineer to be sent from Copenhagen, in vain. As they were much out of repair, I told him it would require the attendance of an engineer for some time, to put them in a state of defence. The governor then proposed my entering into the Danish service, assuring me I would be very acceptable as an engineer, as they were so ill provided, and assured me that he could easily procure me a company in his own regiment, with a pretty girl into the bargain. This I found afterwards to have been concerted with captain Fisher, a superannuated gentleman of the regiment, and his spouse, who was to resign his company in my favour if I married his daughter, a genteel pretty girl at the age of eighteen : as they knew the ship was to fail with the first fair wind they proposed my suffering the vessel to depart without me, with assurance that I could not be long without another opportunity, if their proposal did

did not meet my approbation ; but as I did not incline to be buried alive in such an out-of-the-way place, I excused myself in the best manner I could.

The 21st of July in the afternoon, all the wind-bound ships sailed out of the harbour with a fair wind ; our boat being left to carry me on board ; the governor and the rest of his company conveyed me to the fort, where taking leave of them, I went on board, where I found good store of fresh provisions laid in by the governor and Mrs. Fisher. Having no guns on board, I saluted them with seven muskets, which was returned by five guns from the fort. In passing Bornholm, a Danish man of war spoke to us, and enquired if we knew or had heard of a Russian fleet at sea ; from repeated enquiries of this kind, it was evident they expected an invasion of Holstein, as the emperor had demanded the restitution of that dukedom, in very strong terms, for his lawful prince. Passing the island of Muin the 22d, and anchoring next day before Copenhagen, we arrived on the 24th, at Elsinghor. Here the master went ashore to clear out at the custom-house, where I accompanied him, and was brought before the governor to shew my pass, to whom I delivered a letter from governor Hirshnach ; the governor detained me to supper, when he asked me a multitude of questions relating to Russia ; and understanding by the letter I brought him, that I was not to return again to that service, he urged me much to follow that gentleman's advice, and engage myself in the king of Denmark's, which he observed would be easier obtained, as I had then several relations of rank in that service : to which I answered that he might see from my pass that I

BOOK X. was not disengaged from the Russian service ; and as there
was an appearance of a rupture between the two nations,
^{1724.} such a step might prove of the most dangerous consequence
to me, which he could not refuse to admit, if the rupture
should take place. It is to be observed that the Danish
army is chiefly composed of foreigners, and the Danes and
Norwegians are employed in their navy. Here I met with
Mr. Pritzbaur, a captain of horse, with whom I had been
intimately acquainted in Mecklenburgh ; he informed me
two of my relations were then at Copenhagen, viz. general
Dewitz and colonel Arensdorf, a first cousin of my father's,
and endeavoured much to persuade me to go with him to
see them, as I could daily get an opportunity of another
vessel : but as I very much longed to see my friends in Scot-
land, I would not consent. However, Mr. Pritzbaur in-
fisted on my making his house my home, the four days I
stayed at Elsinghor.

Driven into
Marstrand
dismasted.

We departed from hence on the 28th, and on the 30th
were overtaken by a violent storm, which carried away our
main-mast, with sails, and rigging, and in this distress, with
much difficulty, we reached Marstrand, a town and fort in
Sweden ; here again I met several acquaintances, officers
who had been prisoners at Moscow, who now treated me
with much civility ; several Russian soldiers who had been
made prisoners by the Swedes, and afterward entered into
their service, now earnestly solicited me to intercede with
the governor, to let them return to their native country ; but
he said it was not in his power to discharge them, as they
had voluntarily enlisted. It was eight days before we were
in a condition to put to sea again, and we departed on the

7th

7th of August ; in two days after we were forced by a contrary wind to run into Hamer sound, a place pleasantly situated near a large wood ; the days we were detained here, we passed in fowling or gathering nuts. Here the master and his mate quarrelled, and went each with a broad sword into the wood to fight. A lad called Carnegie the master's nephew, acquainted me with their design. I followed them with my fowling piece, the youth directing me the way they had gone ; we came up with them when they were going to begin the combat, to which I put a stop to by presenting my piece at them, threatening to fire on the first aggressor ; and coming close to them, I reasoned them out of their folly, and returned with them on board, to fight it out over a bowl of punch, by which means they were fully reconciled again.

A quarrel between Carnegie and his mate.
^{1724.}

On the 14th, we weighed, with a fair wind at east, and passed by Christiansand, and the Neus or Naze, and before night had lost sight of Norway, and the 17th came in sight of land, which the Captain took to be at the entrance of the Firth of Forth, and stretching to the northward, intending to fetch Montrose, he passed it in very foggy weather, and falling in with a fishing boat, we were informed we were opposite Aberdeen. Here I left the Isabella, and arrived at Aberdeen in the fishing boat, after a tedious voyage of fifty days. I set out next morning for Fife ; and had the pleasure to find my mother, brother, and sister, well at Coupar on the 20th, after an absence of twenty years.

The captain arrives in Scotland.

I got possession of a small estate left me by a grand uncle, upon which I settled, and after marrying I turned farmer, in which occupation I remained sixteen years, till the war was

BOOK X. was proclaimed with Spain, when the government wanted
engineers. I was on this recommended by his grace the
^{1724.} duke of Argyll, to his grace the duke of Montagu, master
general of the ordnance, who employed me as chief engi-
neer, at twenty shillings per day; and was sent to fortify
Providence, one of the Bahama islands: so that I once more
launched out into a new world for the sake of my family,
who were by this time become pretty numerous.

BOOK

B O O K XI.

The captain sent engineer to fortify Providence, and goes out in the Rose man of war.—Arrives at the island of Madeira.—Waits on the Portuguese governor.—Description of the island.—A hard passage to Carolina.—Misses a fine prize.—A violent storm.—The fortifications at Charlestown.—Arrive at Providence.—The ruinous condition of fort Nassau—Short history of the Bahama Islands.—The oppressive practices of governor Fitz-William.—Governor Tinker succeeds him.—Short account of that gentleman.—The captain prevails on the inhabitants to carry materials for building fort Montagu.—Nature of the stone—and mahogany wood.—Description of fort Montagu.—The governor's letter about it.—A quarrel with lieutenant Stewart.—The captain confined,—and set at liberty.

THE first of July, 1740, I was appointed chief engineer to fortify the Bahama Islands, at twenty shillings per day. I sat out from Scotland the 8th of August, and arrived in London on the 16th; and having received my instructions from the board, I was ordered to go out with John Tinker, esq; who was appointed governor of the Bahama Islands, and the Rose man of war, commanded by Thomas Frankland, esq. was appointed to carry us there. We embarked the 6th of November, and sailed the next day from Spithead, where we lay at anchor till the 9th, and then endeavoured to sail through the Needles, but were obliged, by a contrary wind, to return again to Cowes, where we lay till the 12th; when we sailed through the Needles, having seven vessels under our convoy, one of which carried stores and recruits for the Bahama Islands;

BOOK XI.
1740.
The captain sent engineer to fortify Providence, and goes out in the Rose man of war.

BOOK xi Islands; but the wind proving contrary, we were forced on
the 15th to go into Torbay, and as we were going in we
^{1723.} observed a Spanish privateer boarding a merchant-man; we immediately put about, chased, and came up with her at 3 p. m. having fired five chace-guns at her, when she struck; as we were then under all our sails, with a brisk gale, they let us pass by them without attempting to come on board, and getting under our stern, they endeavoured to get away again; on this the captain ordered to fire with small-arms at her, and the fellow that was hoisting the sails being shot, they put out their boat and came on board. She had only a captain and twenty men on board, and two English masters of vessels, whom they had taken the day before; having sent her lieutenant and twelve of her hands with her prizes for Spain. They seem to have been ill provided with cloaths when they set out, for we saw none they had but what they had plundered from the English; they had sixty-four pounds in money, were well-armed, with plenty of ammunition and provisions; the English masters told us, she was a prime sailer, had sixteen oars, and only for the cowardly spirit of the crew, it would not have been in our power to come up with her; for they were so intimidated, that at every gun we fired, they stopt their oars to say their *Ave Maria*. Governor Tinker had a narrow escape here, for one of his pistols going off by accident, the ball went through his cloaths.

We got into Torbay the next day, where we found the Argyle, of fifty guns, captain Lingen, bound for Ireland, and the Portmahon, of twenty guns, captain Paulet, for Gibraltar; the next day we burnt our prize, and sent the

captain on board the Argyle ; he was a Genoese by birth, had formerly been in our East India company's service, and as he was well acquainted with our coasts, we thought it best to send him to Ireland ; at first he pretended not to understand English, but as he happened to be known by the master of the Rose, who had sailed with him to India, he could no longer pretend ignorance of the language. On board the Argyle he endeavoured to bribe the guard to let him escape, which was no sooner discovered than he was clapped in irons ; the rest of the prisoners were sent on shore.

We left Torbay the 23d of November, and next day had a gale of wind and a heavy sea, which broke over the ship and occasioned a great rolling : I had then the lieutenant's cabin, where the skuttle was forced in, and the water came in and wetted all my cloaths and bedding, which obliged me to set up all night : next day we had a violent storm, which made us take in our sails, lower our top-masts, and drive before the wind. On the 26th, we entered the bay of Biscay, and were tossed about by foul winds in that heavy sea for several days, and lost sight of all our convoy ; at the same time a most violent epidemic distemper raged in our ship, by which we lost a number of the men, so that at last we were forced to bear away for England again, and arrived at Falmouth the 5th of December.

Here we found the Argyle and Port-Mahon windbound, but none of the ships that had been under our convoy were heard of. During our stay here, we sent our surgeon and several of the people ashore sick, and got another surgeon and nine seamen out of a merchantman ; and our

BOOK XI. yawl, in going ashore for water, was staved to pieces, and one of the sailors dangerously hurt, and four of our people deserted : we passed our time agreeably enough on shore at this place, having frequent balls and assemblies till the 17th, that we put out to sea again, and had very boisterous weather for nineteen days successively, which increased the distemper among the people.

Arrives at the
island of Ma-
deira.

1741. On the 5th of January we made the island of Madeira ; but as no body on board had ever been there, except the master, he insisted it was the island of Porto Sancto, which lies fifty-one east from Madeira ; and depending on his judgment, we stood away to the westward, and sailed two days without discovering land, but finding our mistake, were obliged to return, and arrived at Madeira on the 9th, towards night. The next day we were carried ashore by the Portuguese in their boats, none of our own people durst venture on the great surf, which is almost continually on the landing-place here even in calm weather. This is a considerable advantage to the Portuguese, who carry every thing on board and ashore at Madeira. The method they take in landing is this, they keep themselves very dexterously with their oars on the top of a high wave, which carries them a great way on shore, where a number of men stand ready and pull the boat out of the reach of any succeeding wave. In going on board they put the passengers and goods into the boat on dry land, and the boatmen seat themselves ready with their oars in their hands, and a sufficient number of men run with the boat and push her upon the top of a wave, and so go off without the least difficulty. I could

not but be surprised to see with how much dexterity this was BOOK XI.
performed †.

When we came ashore, I accompanied governor Tinker ^{1741.} Wait on the
Portuguese
governor. to wait on the governor of the place; who was saluted by a numerous guard, and afterwards conducted by two gentlemen towards the Portuguese governor, who received us on the top of a high outer stair, and carried us into a large hall; Mr. Tinker, with his retinue, being seated on one side of the room, and the Portuguese gentlemen on the opposite, the Madeira governor took his seat directly facing Mr. Tinker, and after exchanging a few words in a very ceremonious manner, we went away, escorted with the same formalities as we had at entering. We dined with Mr. Baker, the British consul, where the Portuguese governor came after dinner to return governor Tinker's visit, which was as short and as ceremonious as the former; and here ended all the intercourse between the two governors. We went next to see their churches and monasteries, conducted by an Irish priest; next day, we dined with Messieurs Scott, merchants, and afterward walked up the south-side of the hill, where we saw a number of pleasure-houses, but particularly that belonging to the providore, where there were three artificial flats below each other in front, with water-works and flower-pots, prettily laid out, although small. Description
of the islands; All the south-side of this island is an entire mountain, covered with vines, interspersed with houses, and orange, lemon, and other kinds of fruit-trees; the north-side of

† The same method is practised at Deal, in Kent, when the surf is heavy on the beach, which often happens.

BOOK XI the mountain is not inhabited, but reserved for pasturage
 —————— for their cattle ; the inhabitants dwell all along the south-
^{1724.} shore, and the bay is commanded by two forts, well supplied with cannon. The last day of our stop here, we dined with Mr. Chambers, and spent the evening with Mr. Gordon, both merchants ; from the latter I bought several pipes of wine, at eleven pounds five shillings the pipe, which I sent in a snow to South Carolina ; they put an anchor of brandy into every pipe that goes abroad, both to strengthen and preserve it..

A hard passage to Carolina.

On the 13th of January we went on board, and sailed in the night, when the captain's French cook jumped over-board and swam on shore ; we had now lost nineteen men in all since we left Spithead ; the next day we had a violent storm, and such a heavy sea, that the waves broke over the quarter-deck in such a manner that the people could not stand to their duty, and every bed and hammock in the ship were soaked with water. The distemper began to rage more and more among us ; the governor, captain, and most of the officers were sick in bed. All this occasioned a lowness of spirit over the ship ; the storm continued all the 15th, during which we were in a most disagreeable situation in our wet clothes. On the 16th, the storm abated, but the sickness increased, very few who were seised escaping with life, so that the corpse of some one or other was every day committed to the deep. The 17th, we past near Teneriffe, and the island of Palma ; and the 18th, we got into the trade-wind, when we steered due west ; as by this means the ship's crew were relieved from their toilsome labour : the sick were all brought upon deck, the ship was

tho-

thoroughly cleansed, by which the sickness very much abated, BOOK XI.
and the men were encouraged in all sorts of diversions,
thereby to keep them in perpetual motion. We chased
several sail, but when we got up with them they proved to
be either English or Dutch. On the 31st, we were be-
calmed in lat. 24° 51'. north, and saw a great number of
tropic birds; and this day five more of our people, and a
negroe belonging to the captain, died.

1724.

February the 3^d, we had a strong gale, with such a Mis a fine tumbling sea as made the ship roll away her fore-top and prize. top-gallant masts, which came down upon deck with all their furniture; after this we had tolerably good weather. On the 6th, in the morning, in lat. 30° 46'. we chased a ship and got up with her at ten o'clock; she hoisted Dutch colours and struck on our firing; on coming close up to her, the captain ordered the master of her to come on board, but they pretended not to understand him; our lieutenant, with twelve men in the shaloup, were sent on board to examine her papers, who reported, that she was a Dutch ship from Curacoa for Amsterdam, loaded with dollars and tobacco, and had four French gentlemen passengers: we were unanimously, however, (except governor Tinker) of opinion, that if she were strictly examined she would prove a lawful prize, and the captain seemed determined to secure her; Mr. Tinker endeavoured to dissuade him, by insinuating the trouble and expence several captains had brought themselves into by carrying Dutch ships out of their course; captain Frankland asked my opinion: I told him, that if it was my case, I would not carry her out of her course, but would go along with her till I had narrowly

exa-

BOOK XI. examined her: and as I understood both the French and Dutch languages, I offered my assistance; but the governor so intimidated the captain, who was but young, and this his first voyage as a commanding officer, that he let her pass without farther enquiry, to the dissatisfaction of the whole ship's company, as we had afterwards certain information of her safe arrival at Cadiz, with one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling on board.

A violent
storm.

On the 18th, at six in the morning, in latitude 31 deg. 13 min. we met with a terrible hurricane, attended with heavy rain, thunder, and lightning; it carried away our fore-mast sails and all over board, after that our main-top-mast, and at eight o'clock our mizen-mast; and as their masts had got under the ship, they were fastened to her bottom by the wet sails being thereby in great danger of foundering; at the return of every heavy sea the ends of our broken masts and yards struck her bottom with such violence that it was a miracle they did not make their way through. All hands were set to work to clear away the rigging, which, when performed, a high wave at last relieved us from that incumbrance; and in this pitiful situation we were tossed up and down the remainder of the day, and all the following night. The next day the weather being a little settled, we hoisted our main-sail and set up jury-masts; we went under these till the 26th, when we saw a ship not far from us, stranded on a sand-bank, and a small schooner sailing along the coast; on our firing a gun to bring the schooner to, the master came on board, and informed us we were at Cape Roman, to the northward of Charlestown, Carolina; he piloted us to Charlestown bar,

where

where a pilot from the town came on board. I went in the ^{BOOK XI.} ~~BOOK XI.~~ schooner to Charlestown, where I found this city in a deplorable situation, the one half of which had been laid in ashes by a dreadful fire, and the ruins were still smoaking: a vast quantity of merchandize, to a very considerable amount, was quite consumed. Our ship lying without an opportunity to get over the bar, was driven out to sea by a land-breeze, which carried away her jury-mast; two vessels were sent out to her assistance, but it was the 2d of March before she got over the bar: in the time they were driven out to sea, both the master and gunner died. We found here the Phoenix, captain Fanshaw, and the Tartar, the honourable captain George Townsend, both twenty-gun ships, stationed at this place, and our store ship, who had pushed through the bay of Biscay, made a good voyage to Providence, where she landed her recruits and stores, was returned here. The snow also arriving from Madeira with our wine, I sold the half of mine, by which I had the other half free.

The gentlemen of the council and assembly, and others of Charlestown, shewed us a great deal of civility during our stay here, with daily entertainments and balls. The 23d we saw their militia reviewed, which consisted of six companies of one hundred men each; the officers appeared all in uniforms, and the men performed their exercise surprisingly well; the review concluded with an elegant entertainment and a ball at night. The next day I went with governor Tinker, and the captains Townsend and Frankland, by invitation, to colonel Vander Dussen's plantation, where we spent some days very agreeably; after

our.

BOOK XI. our return to town, we went to view Johnson's fort, which stands two miles from the town, and commands the passage into the harbour. At our arrival the governor was saluted with eleven eighteen-pounders. This fort is a triangle, badly executed, mounted with twelve six-pounders; below it is the sea battery mounted with thirty guns, nine, twelve, and eighteen-pounders: on our departure we were saluted with eleven nine-pounders. Upon a point of land at the south end of the town, stand Broughton's battery, which commands both Cooper and Ashley rivers, and is mounted with forty-five guns, nine, twelve, and eighteen-pounders; and betwixt Grenville and Craven bastions, upon the curtain along the bay fronting Cooper river, there are one hundred and thirty guns of different sizes, the carriages of several of which were burnt in the late fire. There was but one brass mortar of eleven inches, and eight cohorns, all the rest having been sent to general Oglethorpe, on his expedition against St. Augustine.

The fortifications at Charlestown.
^{1741.} Governor Tinker finding it would be yet a considerable time before the Rose man of war could be fit to go to sea, desired Commodore Fanshaw to send the Tartar to carry us to Providence; which he complied with, and we went on board on the 10th of April. We struck several times going over the bar, but received no injury from it; we had a pleasant passage till the 19th, in the evening, when sitting after supper, and all very cheerful, we were alarmed by the call of breakers, by one of the people; captain Townsend immediately ran upon deck, and ordered the helm a lee, which was instantly done, and the sails were shifted with great regularity and expedition, not a voice

voice was heard but the captain's; and when the ship was BOOK XI. about, one might easily have thrown a stone from the stern upon the rocks of Abbaco: it happened very luckily to be fine moon light. Mr. Buckle, the lieutenant, who was then in bed preparing himself for the night watch, upon comparing his reckoning with the pilot's, apprehended we were twenty leagues to the westward of the island of Abbaco; but the strong currents that run here occasioned the mistake. Next day captain Townsend lost a very fine black boy, who coming up with a kettle of boiling water, fell with it, and scalded himself in such a manner, that he died soon after, to the great regret of his master.

On the 21st of April, just as we had got over the bar at Providence, a sudden storm of loud thunder and lightning, with a prodigious heavy rain, burst upon us, with such a terrible noise, that we could not hear the salute of the cannon of the fort, although we were opposite to it, which some people considered as very ominous. On our landing we were met on the shore by great numbers of the inhabitants, convened to congratulate their new governor on his safe arrival on the island, expecting, as they expressed themselves, to live under a milder government than they had experienced under the arbitrary power of their late governor.

Captain Laws, who commanded a sloop of war stationed at this place, and who had lost his rank by accepting the command of the sloop, expecting our arrival, and to shun his being under the command of a junior officer, went a few days before our arrival to Jamaica, and left his ready-furnished house (one of the best in the town) for

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BOOK XI. my use, having paid his year's rent (at twenty pounds ster-
ling per annum), of which there was nine months to come,
^{1741.} for which I was certainly much obliged to him; it had also
a garden with a large grove of orange trees.

There was an independent company at this place, con-
sisting of one hundred and fifty men, of which the gover-
nor is captain; with three lieutenants, the oldest of whom
was John Howel. Mr. Howel was now president of the
Bahama islands; he had formerly been a surgeon to the
pirates, and upon an act of grace, he purchased the lieute-
nancy, and was also surgeon to the company, and colonel
of the militia for the sake of the title. The second lieu-
tenant was William Stuart, who was major of the militia;
this gentleman acted in a double capacity, having purchased
the surgency from the former; but the governor made him
part with the surgency to James Irving, who came with us
from Charlestown. The third was William Moone, who
came from London in the storeship with the recruits; Mr.
Moone had no commission, but acted under the governor's
warrant a considerable time, in expectation of one; of
which he was at last disappointed by the arrival of Patrick
Dromgole, a nephew of the former governor's, with a
commission for third lieutenant, which was a very great
hardship to Mr. Moone. The only people of note here,
were chief justice Rowland; James Scott, secretary and
clerk of the admiralty; John Keowin, provost marshal;
Chaloner Jackson, collector; and Mr. Smith, the parson.

The ruinous
condition of
Fort Nassau.

Upon viewing fort Nassau, I found it in a very ruinous
condition; the barracks, which were built of wood, were
ready to tumble down, and there was no other building
within

within the fort; the powder magazine was a house which ^{BOOK XI.} stood at some distance from it, exposed in such a manner that any body might set fire to it. I found no more than sixteen guns, mounted upon very bad carriages; the rest were all scattered up and down, and some buried within high water mark in the sand, some of which were spiked up, others rammed full of stones and sand; the carriages trucks and shot were also dispersed, so that with much difficulty I collected them together: the inhabitants had made use of great part of them for ballast in their vessels. Having got them all collected in one place, I drilled those that had been nailed up, cleaned the whole from rust, and proved them by firing, I had now fifty-four guns of six, nine, twelve, and eighteen-pounders, fit for service, and mounted them on the new carriages which came out of the store-ship from England. My greatest difficulty was the want of masons, of whom there was not one in the place, which obliged me to commission some from the northern colonies; but all I could get were two bricklayers from Philadelphia, who knew nothing of masonry. So that I had the trouble of teaching them and some of the soldiers, to form, cut, and lay stones; and as no labourers were to be got without finding them in provisions, which were not to be procured here, as the inhabitants themselves lived principally on tortoise and fish, (any kind of flesh-meat being a great rarity,) I was obliged to send to New York for provisions. The former governor, as well as the present, had provided a quantity of lime; so that my next concern was to provide stone for a new fort. The harbour is formed by Hog Island, which is three miles in

1741.

length ; and as the enemy in attempting to destroy this settlement, had commonly landed at the east end of the harbour, within three miles of Nassau, I resolved to build my new fort at this place, as the most essential to prevent such insults in future, where, as the entrance is not a gun-shot broad, the harbour would be sufficiently secured. The island of Providence is twenty-seven miles long, and eleven broad, and is so entirely surrounded by innumerable sunken rocks, that it is impossible for any ships to land, except in the harbour ; and if an enemy were to land in boats, it would be impossible for them to get through the underwoods, without cutting a road through them. There are no inhabitants on any of the other islands, excepting Eluthera and Harbour-Islands.

The departure of the honourable captain George Towns-end, on his return to Carolina, on the 16th of May, left this place very lonely ; the officers and seamen being commonly on shore, had greatly enlivened it while they remained : In the mean time, that I was providing materials for building the fort, I made it my business to enquire into the first settlement, and the nature of those islands ; and the following particulars are what I collected.

*Short history
of the Bahá-
ma Islands.*

The Bahama Islands are some hundreds in number, but the far greatest part are very inconsiderable ; they are situated between the 22d and 23d deg. north lat. they were originally discovered by the Spaniards, and St. Salvadore, now called Cat-Island, was the first land Columbus set his foot on this new world, which was in the year 1493, and where are still to be seen the ruins and foundations of their chapels and other buildings ; for their first settlements were here, till

the natives, who wore plates of gold upon their lips, being BOOK XI.
asked by signs whence it came, pointed towards the south-west ; and these islands came to be deserted for the mines of Mexico and Peru. The cruelty exercised by the Spaniards over these poor people, both during their stay amongst them, and afterwards from Cuba, exceeds all imagination, they having trained up dogs to hunt those unhappy people as their proper game ; and this cruel sport they followed till they had entirely destroyed all the inhabitants.

1741.

About the year 1607, these islands were again discovered by captain William Sayle (afterwards governor of Carolina), and granted by king Charles II. to six of the proprietors of Carolina, viz. the duke of Albemarle, lord Craven, sir John Carteret, lord Berkeley, lord Ashley, and sir Peter Coleton ; but as people are more desirous to obtain grants of land than careful to improve them, they have been very much neglected ever since. Several lawless people at that time had taken possession of Providence, which lies in 25 deg. north latitude, to which they were encouraged by its very commodious harbour ; and being joined by several pirates, they subsisted by their depredations on the coasts of Cuba which they called *buccaneering* : besides this they enriched themselves by the frequent wrecks happening upon the Bahama banks. These practices naturally exasperated the Spaniards to the resolution of destroying those buccaneers, and the proprietors in all that time took no notice of their islands, but let them live as they pleased, till the year 1670, that they appointed Mr. Collingworth to be governor ; but, after his arrival, in endeavouring to reform them, they seized

BOOK XI. seized and shipped him off for Jamaica, not being willing
to subject themselves to any government.

1741.

In 1677, the proprietors appointed Mr. Clarke to be their governor, but he fared infinitely worse than his predecessor; for the Spaniards, jealous of every English colony, landed in Providence, where they seized the governor, burnt all the houses, destroyed the stock, and took all the inhabitants they could catch, the rest hiding themselves in the woods; they carried off Mr. Clark in chains, and afterwards tortured him to death, and then roasted him.

When Mr. Lilburn was governor, in the year 1684, the Spaniards again surprised the place, destroyed all their improvements, carried away a number of the inhabitants with the same barbarity as before, and left those that escaped in a miserable condition, dispersed in holes and in the woods, without any manner of government till 1687. They re-assembled and renewed their settlements, and chose Mr. Bridges, a presbyterian minister, for their governor, under whom they lived three years. The lords proprietors sent out Mr. Jones to be their governor in 1690, who oppressed and tyrannised over the inhabitants with a very high hand, in which he reckoned himself perfectly secure by the assistance of Avery the pirate, who commanded a ship of forty-six guns, and one hundred and twenty stout seamen; but, in his absence, the inhabitants put the governor in prison, and chose Mr. Ashley for their president, till Mr. Jones could be brought to his trial: but upon the return of the pirates from a cruise he was by them set again at liberty: after which he behaved much worse than before, and imprisoned all

those he suspected ; desiring the pirates to carry them off ^{BOOK XI.} the island and make away with them.

These proceedings coming to the ears of the proprietors, they sent Mr. Trot as their governor, to supercede Jones, in 1694, and immediately released the imprisoned inhabitants ; he also allowed Jones to go off the island without a legal trial, to the no small grief and vexation of the inhabitants : he likewise suffered Avery the pirate, who changed his name to Bridgeman, to shelter himself and his crew at Providence : their ship, called the Fancy, was voluntarily lost, and the effects which they had pirated from the great mogul, were landed and shared, with which they settled upon the island, till a proclamation against pirates obliged the governor to summons them before such a court of justice as he had in Providence : but, for want of power, and the pirates being now joined with the inhabitants, he durst not try them, for fear of being himself murdered, for he had often mutinies during his government. The inhabitants, after this joined, and built a small fort, and planted it with twenty-two cannon, to protect themselves against the frequent invasions of the Spaniards, and also built a town of one hundred and sixty houses, which they called Nassau.

In 1697, Mr. Jones was succeeded by Mr. Webb, as governor, who continued in it two years, and in that short time found means to render himself so obnoxious to the people, that he found himself obliged to ship off his effects and go to Pennsylvania ; from whence, without the knowledge of the proprietors, he deputed one Elding, a mulatto, to succeed him, in 1699 ; by virtue of which deputation, he had the assurance to act as governor, notwithstanding he

was.

BOOK XI. was a person of a most infamous character: but by keeping
—^{1741.} up a correspondence with a new set of pirates, who fre-
quented the Bahamas, he, by their assistance, maintained
himself in this government two years, till

1701, the lords proprietors appointed Mr. Hasket, go-
vernour; who, on his arrival, prosecuted and confined Eld-
ing, with several others, under pretence of enforcing the
laws against pirates and their abettors. In this the inhabi-
tants thought Mr. Hasket acted with too great severity, and
too much regard to his own interest, and not having strength
to support his authority, they, in open rebellion, in about
five weeks after his arrival on the island, seised and confined
him in irons a close prisoner six weeks; but being prevailed
upon to spare his life, they put him on board a ketch in
the harbour, with strict orders to the commander to carry
Mr. Hasket to England, from whence he came; and chose
one Lichtwood, who was one of their accomplices, for their
president and deputy-governor in his room. Lichtwood
continued in his office about two years, till the French and
Spaniards, in 1703, when they were at open war with
England, surprised the island so completely, that they found
the inhabitants feasting with their president, and their neg-
lected fort without any garrison. The enemy destroyed the
fort, spiked the guns, burnt the town and church, plun-
dered the inhabitants, some of whom, and some negroes,
hid themselves in the woods, and carried their deputy-go-
vernour, with many others, prisoners to the Havannah.
Shortly after this, those formidable enemies returned again,
and carried away all the inhabitants and negroes they could
find,

find, the few who escaped fled to Carolina and Virginia, BOOK XI.
leaving the island entirely desolate.

It was afterwards for some years the resort of pirates only, who made it their general rendezvous : they dug holes in the ground in the woods, and hid their ill-gotten treasures there, where they remained, as many of them were killed or died at sea ; and some part of their deposits are now and then occasionally discovered to this day.

1741.

Soon after this desolation, the proprietors appointed Mr. Birch to succeed Mr. Harket, as governor; but on Mr. Birch's arrival at Providence, and finding the island quite deserted of inhabitants he returned. From this time the lord's proprietors have not concerned themselves in those islands, but gave up their right in them to the crown, having met with nothing but expence and trouble while under their direction.

The king was solicited by the merchants of London and Bristol to fortify those islands, as a security to their trade; and, in compliance with their request, his majesty (George I.) appointed Mr. Wood Rogers, their governor, and sent him out with an independent company of one hundred men, with a large quantity of all kind of stores to fortify the place. On Mr. Rogers's arrival, in 1717, the pirates voluntarily surrendered themselves to him, and accepted the benefit of an act of indemnity which had been past, and have ever since been the principal inhabitants of the island. Under the moderate governments of Mr. Rogers, and his successor, Mr. Finney, the people found themselves happy, and many families came and settled here, besides many Palatines, who, by their industry and improvements upon

BOOK XI. their plantations, furnished the markets with all sorts of provisions.

^{1741.} After Mr. Finney's death, Richard Fitz William, esq. was appointed governor, in 1733, who brought an addition of fifty men to the independent company, with a large quantity of all sorts of stores, and an engineer (Mr. Thomas More), to fortify the place; but his sudden death prevented him from making any great progress in the work. The governor exerted so arbitrary and tyrannical a power, that the best of the inhabitants, and all the Palatines, withdrew from the island, forsaking their fine improvements, to shelter themselves in other parts, where they were sure to meet with better usage. The governor's agents for putting those oppressive schemes in execution were, lieutenant Stuart, one of the council; James Scott, judge of the admiralty; and one Archibald, his servant, who used to knock down any one who dared to refuse to enter into the governor's measures: on which three of the most considerable inhabitants found means to get to London, where they entered a complaint against the governor before the king and council. They were Mr. Colburgh, collector Jackson, and Mr. White; their petition, too long to be here inserted, contained many charges of a very extraordinary nature against the governor.

Governor
Tinker suc-
ceeds him.

In consequence of which, Mr. Fitz William was some time after ordered to return, to make his defence; and, after a tedious and expensive trial, he lost his government, and was succeeded by John Tinker, esq. who, upon his setting out, was determined to make the people easy and happy under his government; and to turn out all Mr. Fitz William's favourites, especially those who had advised and assisted him in

in his oppressions; of which he made a beginning at Charles-town with his second lieutenant, William Stuart, who was there at our arrival, whom he obliged to dispose of his sur-gency to James Irving, lately arrived from Guinea in a ship with slaves; and when Mr. Tinker arrived at Providence, he turned out the two lieutenants, Howel and Stuart, the one from being lieutenant-colonel, the other major, in the militia, and appointed two of the chief inhabitants in their room. James Scott was displaced from being chief judge, and Mr. Rowland was re-instated; with many other changes, to the great joy and satisfaction of all the inhabitants, who now expected to enjoy their own in safety.

John Tinker, esq. had formerly been factor to the South-Sea-Company at Panama, and afterwards appointed, by the African Company, governor of Cape Coast, in Guinea.

The council at Providence, at this time, consisted only of three; the lieutenants Howel and Stuart, and John Snow, the governor's secretary: the usual number is six. To supply this deficiency, the governor proposed to captain Frankland and me to be of his council, which we both declined; but we both accepted to be chosen members of the assembly, which consisted of twenty in number, and of which James Scott was the speaker; so that collector Boothby, and Mr. Thomson, one of the inhabitants, were appointed to be of the council.

In the mean time I was employing myself in providing ma-
terials for erecting fort Montagu, on the east point of the har-
bour, three miles from Nassau. As the lime which the two go-
vernors had provided was at too great a distance, I made lime
upon the spot. I found great inconvenience in providing stone,

The captain prevails on the inhabitants to carry the materials for building Fort Mon-tagu.

~~BOOK XI.~~ which was to be carried from the woods on the heads of the negroes ; and as they could not carry a stone of any size, it would have proved an endless work, there being no such thing as a wheel carriage in the island. Mr. Bullock, one of the inhabitants, arrived here on the 8th of June, from the Havannah, where he had been some time a prisoner, who assured us that the Spaniards were fitting out two men of war, of 80 guns each, and three large gallies, full of men, to make a descent on Providence. Upon this I took the opportunity to lay the defenceless state of the island before the assembly ; assuring them, that if they would supply me with materials, I would, in a short time, put the east side of the harbour in a posture of defence, as that was the place where we had the most to fear, having always been the enemy's landing place : to this request they unanimously agreed, and ordered all their vessels and boats to bring me a sufficient quantity of stones of proper sizes for erecting the fort, and also a number of mastich trees, for pallisades. This very soon enabled me to employ all my own hands upon the building, which I carried on with the utmost dispatch and diligence.

Upon the 10th of June the governor laid the foundation stone, in the presence of the principal inhabitants, and named the fort Montagu, and the sea battery Bladen's Battery.

Nature of the Stone. All the stone on this and the adjacent islands is of so soft a nature, when raised from the quarries, that we could cut and shape them into any form with very little labour ; and after they have been some time exposed in the open air, they turn hard as flint, with this excellent property, that in firing into the walls, the ball lodges as in a mud wall, without

making the least breach ; this I proved by several shot from book xi. an eighteen-pounder. I found no small difficulty in getting fresh water for the mortar ; I was at first supplied by a small pool of rain water, but when that was dried up, I had recourse to digging a well through this soft rock ; and getting as low as the level of the sea, we found water very fresh, by the sea water having filtered through the stone, and left its saline particles behind. We found afterwards that the farther we dug from the sea, the water proved to be so much the fresher. The masters of vessels provided themselves with filtering stones, which contained several gallons, to rectify their spoiled water on board. The mastich wood, which the inhabitants delivered for palisades, was as hard and heavy as iron ; I was obliged to form them while the wood was green, for when they are fully dry, there is no possibility of working them. The inhabitants affirmed to me that they would last above a century : they are so hard that a musket-ball makes no impression on them ; they assured me they were proof against swivel shot, but this I did not think proper to try.

And mastich
wood.

Fort Montagu and Bladen's Battery were finished the latter end of July, 1742, and mounted eight 18, three 9, and six 6 pounders. Within the fort is a terrassed cistern, containing thirty tons of rain water, and so contrived as to receive all that falls within the fort, with a drain to carry off the superfluous water ; there are barracks for officers and soldiers, a guard room, and a powder magazine, bomb proof, to contain ninety-five barrels of powder ; two of its sides are close upon the sea, and the two land sides are well secured by mastich pallisades.

When

BOOK XI. When the fort was finished, I invited the governor and principal inhabitants to it, and then delivered his excellency the keys thereof, under a discharge of all the cannon. The ^{1742.} governor and the inhabitants were now extremely well pleased to consider themselves in a condition to repel the invasion of an enemy, as the back door through which the place had often been surprised, was now shut up; and in this good humour the governor wrote the following letter to the duke of Montagu.

New Providence, Aug. 28, 1742.

" My Lord,

The gover-
nor's letter
about it.

" I should have presented my duty to your grace much sooner, but waited till captain Bruce had finished the fort, which I have taken the liberty of calling by your grace's illustrious name, as a mark of respect and veneration due to your grace's person and merit. It is situated so as to guard the eastern part of this island very securely, and is as strong as any thing of its size can be: and I must do the gentleman who has the direction of those works, the justice to say, I believe the public money was never more frugally or more justly administered; which is a proof of your grace's excellent judgment in the choice of men. He is now engaged about the other works, at fort Nassau; and as he proposes to lay before your grace, and the board of ordnance, the absolute necessity there will be of erecting a strong redoubt, in order to complete the well-fortifying of this island, a farther sum of money will be wanting than the sixteen hundred pounds already allowed;

“ which will be soon laid out in raising the old fort from the ruinous condition it lies in now. I think, by the nearest estimate we can make, there will be still wanting two thousand five hundred pounds ; which, when your grace is pleased to compare with the mighty sum that Mr. Moore’s plan would have taken to put in execution, I hope this will be thought a trifle ; especially when the ill consequence of such a place falling into an enemy’s hands, is taken into consideration. We may set them at defiance if these works are all completed in the manner proposed ; because I am persuaded this will then be the strongest possession in British America : always supposing a proper garrison will be established, which cannot be less than three hundred men. Fort Montagu requires an officer and fifty men for its ordinary guard ; your grace will see the impossibility of doing the common duty with only one independent company, our whole force at present.

“ I have presented a memorial to the board, praying for a supply of powder and small arms, which, I hope, will not be thought unreasonable, when it shall appear fifty barrels were sent to general Oglethorpe before he went to St. Augustine, and two mortars, which have never been returned, and now I believe he has use enough for them.

“ I have also intelligence, that if the Spaniards succeed at Georgia, they will fall upon us next. I humbly ask pardon for this freedom, and only beg your grace will be pleased to take the Bahama Islands and their governor under your protection.

“ (Signed) J O H. N. T I N K E R.”

BOOK XI.

1742.

A quarrel
with lieute-
nant Stuart.

At the delivery of the before mentioned materials by the inhabitants, it was hinted to me, by way of friendly advice, to state the same to the government's account, as that could not be looked on as a breach of trust ; but as I was determined not to enter into any unlawful schemes, I rejected the proposal. A club had been instituted to meet once a week at a tavern, and at our third meeting, which happened soon after this friendly proposal, a dispute arose between me and lieutenant Stuart ; and when his excellency saw the dispute beginning to grow warm, he absented himself ; on which, averse to any farther altercation, I went home. Next morning, at day break, looking out at my window, I saw Stuart riding past, armed with sword and pistols ; I asked him where he had been so early in the morning, accoutred in that manner ; he replied I had certainly forgot that I had given him a challenge the night before ; I told him I could remember no such thing ; but since that was the case, as he said, I would immediately put on my cloaths, and attend him wherever he pleased ; observing to him my surprize how he came to pass and repass under my windows, knowing I was asleep in bed, without either calling or fending to acquaint me with his design : he then replied, since I did not remember my giving him a challenge, he had nothing to say, as he did not intend to have any quarrel with me ; that it was great folly for people to involve themselves in needless dangers ; and wishing me a good morning, he went home.

The captain
confined.

About three hours after, as I was walking along the bay, in my morning dress, with half of a stick in my hand, split down the middle, and had got opposite the governor's windows,

dows, Stuart came up with me, and knocked me down ; upon recovering myself, I hit him with the edge of my half stick such a blow, that it laid his cheek open from his ear to his mouth ; on which judge Rowland, and several of the inhabitants, who had been witnesses to Stuart's treacherous insult, came and parted us ; and, upon my servant's bringing me my sword and pistols, we were both secured by the guard, and had sentries placed at our doors : there I remained a prisoner for a fortnight, without the governor's enquiring into the merits of the case, or offering to give me the least satisfaction for the insult I had met with in his view ; but he was every day with Stuart, who seemed to me to be only detained a prisoner by way of a blind.

1741.

As the workmen could do nothing without I shewed them daily how to proceed, it in course put a stop to the works, which occasioned a very loud clamour among the inhabitants, who had contributed so much towards getting these works expeditiously carried on ; on which the governor sent for me, and proposed an accommodation between Stuart and me ; who, he said, had offered to acknowledge his fault, and ask my pardon in public, and in as ample a manner as I should think fit : but I told the governor that as I had been in a manner assassinated in his own sight, I could not but have expected to have been redressed by him ; instead of which I had been punished by two weeks confinement ; and as I was satisfied there was no safety for my person, I should be obliged either to leave the island, or put a stop to the works till farther orders from England. Upon this the governor proposed, that since he had certain intelligence of the determination of the Spaniards to invade this island, I should

And set at liberty.

BOOK XI. proceed to put the place in a posture of defence ; and he
— would engage his word and honour, since nothing else
^{1724.} would satisfy me, that as soon as fort Nassau was finished,
he would order Stuart to any place, out of the island, I pleased
for my satisfaction, upon condition I should make no at-
tempt against him till then ; to which conditions I agreed,
and proceeded with the works again with the utmost dili-
gence ; but never without my sword and pistols, thereby to
prevent my being attacked again in such a villainous manner.

B O O K XII.

The treatment of two privateers and their owners.—Letter from lieutenant Moone.—Letter from a friend.—Letter from lieutenant Dromgole.—Division of the quick-silver.—The captain applies again to the assembly to bring the materials.—The assembly withdraw the governor's salary.—Letter from lieutenant Moone.—Another from Charlestown.—Letter from governor Glen.—Produce of the Bahama islands, and the adjacent sea—Observations on St. Salvador and the Bimini islands.—The inhabitants of Providence.—Description of fort Nassau—Cost of both forts.—The captain leaves Providence.—Arrives at Charlestown.—His report of the strength of Charlestown.—A visit from a Cherokee king.—Captain Franklin's rich prize.—A short description of Carolina.—The captain sails for England.—Arrives at London.

IN the month of September a rich Spanish register ship BOOK XII. and settee were brought in by John Sibbald, of the George —
schooner, and William Dowall, of the Joseph and Mary 1742. Treatment of
sloop, both privateers from Philadelphia; the captains of two privateers
and their own-
ers. the privateers were recommended to Mr. Tinker's protection by governor Thomas, of Philadelphia, and several considerable merchants of that place, their owners. A few days after the prizes were brought in, a flag of truce arrived from the Havannah, sent by the governor and royal company there, to redeem the register ship, whose cargo amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, prime cost at Cadiz, besides some valuable private trade, not belonging to the royal company, computed at thirty thousand pieces of eight; the settee was loaded with quick-silver, wine, and

BOOK XII. other goods. As governor Tinker was empowered by the owners to bargain for the prizes for their account, he agreed with don Pedro de Lestrado, who came from the Havannah for that purpose, to deliver him the register ship and her cargo for ninety thousand pieces of eight; and the private trade, and the settee were reserved for the owners of the privateers, don Pedro having only orders to redeem the royal company's effects. So the Spaniards gained sixty thousand pieces of eight by the cargo, besides the value of the ship, which was a fine new one, built in the river Thames, and taken by the Spaniards in her first voyage. As the money for the purchase was to be procured at the Havannah, don Pedro returned in the flag of truce for that purpose, accompanied by John Snow, the governor's secretary, and several Spanish prisoners, captured by captain Frankland.

In the mean time, the privateers' men were encouraged on shore with rioting and drinking, thereby to run them in debt; and as none of them would go on board to do the work, the captains and officers of the privateers were obliged to do all the necessary duty on board the vessels, themselves. The captains applied to the governor to order the people on board to their duty, but all in vain; instead of that, they were encouraged to insult and affront them on all occasions. At length don Pedro Feron arrived from the Havannah, with thirty chests of pieces of eight, each chest containing three thousand; which he delivered in full payment for the ship and cargo, and got possession of her, after all the private trade was taken out. With don Pedro Feron came another don, with plenty of money, to purchase the private trade, and the privateers were to escort the register ship to

the Havannah ; but the captains could persuade very few of BOOK XII.
the men to go on board, which obliged them to hire seamen —————
at very extravagant wages, their people on shore being en-
couraged to spend liberally, that they might take none of
their prize money away with them, and they departed for
the Havannah on the 8th of February, 1743.

1743.

On the return of the privateers, the captains were deter-
mined not to enter this harbour again, and came to an an-
chor at a place called Salt Keys ; they came both on shore
to demand their money, which was in the governor's cus-
tody, and likewise the settee, and private trade ; but his
excellency told them he would oblige them to share here, as
their people owed considerable sums to the inhabitants of
Providence ; which debts the captains offered to pay, and
said when that should be done, they hoped to have liberty to
depart for their proper port. But a party of drunken fel-
lows, instigated by some interested persons, took a pilot and
his boat, and went on board the two vessels, and brought
them into the harbour, upon a pretence that the captains
had a design to deprive them of their prize money, which
they ought now to prevent, assuring them, at the same time,
they would come to no harm thereby, as they were to be
supported by the leading men of the island. On this they
went on board, confined their officers, brought in the ves-
sels, and threatened to cut the officers in pieces if they did
not share the prizes immediately.

On this the captains went to the governor, and repre-
sented their case to him, and begged his protection against
such a dangerous mutiny of the people ; and that he would
order them on board to do their duty, not doubting but as
soon

BOOK XII. soon as they got sober, they would behave as they ought.

— The governor then told them he had been petitioned by Mr.
^{1743.} Ellis, to whom they were in debt, and the whole body of the inhabitants, to have every thing shared here, which, in justice to them, he could not refuse. Upon this the captains shewed the governor the articles signed by all the men, of both vessels, obliging themselves to share no where but at Philadelphia ; and assured him that most of them had families there, who had been supplied by the owners upon the faith of these prizes ; and that many of them were indentured servants, whose half shares belonged to their masters, so that it was impossible for them to consent to the distribution here, not knowing what debts they owed at home ; but they were willing and ready to pay what debts the people owed in this place, although they understood they were very considerable.

The governor told them, since they would not give their consent to the sharing, he would order it to be done ; on this the people were advised to constitute James Irving their agent, with an allowance of 5 per cent. and, when that was settled, his excellency sent twenty chests of dollars, being sixty thousand pieces of eight, to Mr. Irving's house, to be divided amongst the people ; which the agent did in such an arbitrary manner, that the officers, if they offered to make the least remonstrance, were treated with the utmost indignity ; of which they frequently complained to the governor, who as often replied, that " he would not concern himself with their private quarrels ;" his usual reply to all complaints on similar occasions.

Mr.

Mr. John Snow, the secretary, now returned from the Ha- BOOK XII.
vannah with several English prisoners in exchange for the
Spaniards he carried there, and twelve more, whose dis-
charge don Pedro Feron complimented me with, in return
for some little civilities I shewed him while he resided here ;
of the twelve, ten were masters of ships, and one a surgeon.
Mr. Snow brought with him four chests of dollars (or
twelve thousand pieces of eight), as it was reported, for the
governor, and a purse with one thousand quadruple pistoles,
a gold hilted sword, a gold-headed cane, gold buckles and
buttons, besides many other valuable presents ; and as the
chests with the money could not be brought privately on
shore, it was given out that the governor had sent rials in
exchange for the dollars ; but every body saw through this
thin pretext, for it was very well known there were not so
many rials on the whole island ; besides, there was at this
time above one hundred thousand dollars in the place, as the
Spaniards had brought plenty with them to purchase the pri-
vate trade and naval stores.

When the officers of the privateers, who had ventured
their lives for this prize, found they could obtain no justice,
they petitioned his excellency, that now, since the money
was shared, he would be pleased to let them depart with the
settee and her cargo, with the private trade, which he pro-
mised to do upon his word and honour ; but they were de-
tained from time to time, under various pretences, till the
people had spent all their shares, which were four hundred
and fifty dollars a man ; and which they did in a very short
time, by gaming and throwing it away as fast as they got
it. They were again encouraged by their agents to petition
the

BOOK XII. the governor, that the quick-silver, and other goods on board
the santee, and the private trade, might be shared also; which
^{1743.} was accordingly ordered to be done.

The captains finding there was no end of these singular proceedings, got the ten chests of money reserved for the owners, as their one third share of what was divided before, hired the English sailors, which came from the Havaannah, to man their vessels, and sailed from hence, leaving all the rest of the property behind. Captain Dowall springing his main-mast, was obliged to return here to get it repaired, and thought it prudent to take whatever share they pleased to give him, rather than run the risque of losing all. The poor sailors, when their money was all gone, cursed and damned this government; but they soon found to their cost, now all their money was spent, that instead of being courted as formerly, they were thrown into jail, and very exorbitant fees exacted from them. Some were relieved by the humanity of their shipmates, who had a little money left; and two of them, who were bricklayers, I redeemed, by paying their debts, and employed them on the works, where they continued till they were finished. Some of the soldiers having got money on this occasion, it was hinted to them, that whoever could pay one hundred dollars, might have his discharge; on which several did purchase it at that price.

Dr. Irving now began to build a fine new house, and, thinking every thing he did was lawful, went to the fort and ordered several of the labourers to go to his house to dig a cellar. The overseer would not allow any of the people to leave the works, without an order from the engineer;

Irving

Irving took the tools out of the men's hands, and ordered them to be carried to his house. The overseer, in endeavouring to prevent it, was miserably beaten, and had his head cut in several places ; he came to me, all covered over with blood, to complain of the hard usage he had met with ; I sent him, in that pickle, to judge Rowland, to enter his complaint against the aggressor ; but he was no sooner before the judge, than Irving followed, who beat the overseer again, before the judge's face. As soon as I heard how the poor man had been abused, in a place where he ought to have found protection and redress, I went directly to the governor to seek redress, but was answered with his usual cant, " that he would not concern himself with private quarrels :" however he sent for Irving, who was no sooner in his presence than he threatened death and destruction to any one that durst presume to enter a complaint against him ; which so nettled the governor, that he sent him prisoner to the fort ; telling him, at the same time, that it was not for the complaint laid against him, but for the want of that respect due to his person ; upon which explanation I left him ; but, upon an application from Scott and Stuart, Irving was set at liberty.

In the evening, as I was sitting in company with the parson, the collector, lieutenant Dromgole, and several others, my servant came and told me, before the company, that Dr. Irving, and one Cuthbert, were swearing death and revenge against me and my overseer ; and that they were waiting for me with loaded pistols before their door, which was next to mine, and by which I must necessarily pass in my way home. This alarmed the company ; some advised me to send for

BOOK XII. the guard ; others, that I should stay where I was all night :
 ————— but, finding me determined to go home, they offered to
 1743. escort me, for which I thanked them kindly, and told them, that as I well knew all bullies to be cowards, I would make my way, attended by my overseer alone ; but, as it was clear moon light, and they could see as far as I went, they might stand at the door till I passed those bravos, that they might bear witness of what might happen. We proceeded with cocked pistols in our hands, and coming to Irving's door, he thought proper to sculk behind it ; I stood some time there, and finding all quiet, I went very peaceably home to bed. This being told the next day, with all its circumstances, to the governor, he only replied in his usual style, that "he had nothing to do with private quarrels ;" for if one was killed, he would hang the other.

About this time, a scene of confusion and dissension began to take place in the island ; and the sudden death of Mr. Hodges, the chaplain of the garrison, gave rise to a variety of speculations.

Two days after which, I received a letter from lieutenant Moone, of which the following is an extract.

" Fort Montague, July 7, 1743.

" Sir,

" In a conference I had with governor Tinker, the 3d instant, wherein part of the discourse rolled upon some quarrels and divisions which happened lately amongst some gentlemen in Nassau, the governor intimated, that they were to be thrown into the public scale, as if he was to be

" be answerable for them ; which he seemed much exasperated at, and occasioned the following declaration : that —————
" he would not, for the future, interpose in any of their quarrels, for if one was killed, the other should be hanged ; and then he would be quit of two troublesome persons.
" I give you this hint by way of caution, which seems to be levelled at one of us. The sudden and unexpected death of our minister, Mr. Hodges, on the 5th instant, though his case was not dangerous, is matter of great speculation amongst the inhabitants of this island. That the great God may bless, protect, and keep all honest men out of the hands of their enemies, is the sincere wish of

1743.

(Signed) W. MOONE."

The little cordiality that had for some time subsisted between the governor and me, and the ticklish situation in which I found myself, began to make me entertain very serious thoughts of quitting the island ; and the invitations which I had repeatedly received from several of the colonies on the continent, made it necessary for me to give an intimation of my design to his excellency ; at the same time taking occasion to acquaint him, that I was far from considering myself in a state of absolute safety, and that if any accident happened to me, I had the greatest reason to believe that a very strict enquiry would be made into the authors of it. That there was some foundation for this apprehension, will appear from the following letter, which was sent to me by a very particular friend.

G g g 2

" Fort

BOOK XII.

“ Fort Nassau, August 10, 1743.

^{1743.}
Letter from a friend.

“ Last week I had some discourse with governor Tinker

“ concerning your intention to leave this government, as soon
 “ as the money allowed by his majesty for fortifications,
 “ should be expended ; upon which the governor replied,
 “ that the engineer, nor nobody else, should leave this island
 “ without leave ; and that he would order his officers to
 “ stop you, if you attempted it. However I told the go-
 “ vernor I did not apprehend how that could be put in ex-
 “ ecution, considering that you were independent of this
 “ government, and answerable to the board of ordnance
 “ only. The governor then replied with great warmth and
 “ earnestness, that he was king in this government ; and if
 “ he gave orders to kill any man whatsoever, his officers
 “ were to obey him, without enquiring into the cause
 “ thereof. This I hint to you by way of precaution, that
 “ you may be upon your guard ; I have likewise acquainted
 “ Mr. Moone with the purport of the letter, since I find
 “ he intends to leave this government by the same oppor-
 “ tunity.”

One of the complaints against the late governor, was his forcing the inhabitants, by way of punishment, to make three lime kilns ; Mr. Scott, his agent, now wanted me to buy this lime of him at a very exorbitant price ; I told him I was willing to take it by measure, but not otherwise, and that I would pay him the price I gave governor Tinker for his, which was six pence per bushel, which he could not refuse ; but being nettled because I would not give him the

sum

sum he demanded for the whole, without measure, he acquainted Mr. Fitz William thereof; Mr. Fitz William wrote to Mr. Tinker about it, who shewed me the letter, in which he threatened and abused me in a very injurious manner, for not giving the price he demanded. Upon my declaring I would resent it, his nephew, lieutenant Dromgole, begged me not to write, as he was certain the matter had been wrong represented by Scott, and that he would write and explain the matter to his uncle; of which letter the following is a copy.

BOOK XII.
1743.

" Providence, Dec. 11.

" The 9th instant captain Bruce, our engineer, paid Mr. Scott for your lime, at six pence per bushel, according to " Scott's agreement with him, which is the same price was allowed to governor Tinker for his; you have both been greatly imposed upon in the making of it, because the engineer made all the lime for building fort Montagu at less than half a'rial per bushel, and charged the government no more. Mr. Scott, upon receiving your letter, and seeing what you had wrote to the governor on that head, refused, for some time, to take the money from the engineer; but as I wrote you before in a former letter, that by the carelessness of your good attorney, the half of your lime was stole and washed away by the great rains, which I heard governor Tinker and Mr. Scott say from their own mouths, before ever the engineer touched it, otherwise it would have turned out very much to your advantage; and I beg leave to tell you that I am extremely sorry that governor Tinker shewed him your letter, because you have threatened to make captain Bruce smart if he did

" not.

M E M O I R S O F

BOOK XII. " not comply with your demands ; besides, you have treated

~~—~~ " him with so much indignity and contempt, that he has
 1743. " conceived a just resentment against you for it, which
 " makes me dread the consequence. Perhaps you may ima-
 " gine he was some little theorist, sent out by the board of
 " ordnance ; if so, you are greatly mistaken, for he is one
 " of the best engineers in his majesty's service, and a gen-
 " tleman of long experience in the army ; has weathered
 " eighteen campaigns, and, I believe, has built more forts
 " than all the rest of the engineers on the British establish-
 " ment, and is a man of the strictest honour and integrity ;
 " but will not pocket an affront of any man, by what name
 " or title soever dignified or distinguished. Captain Bruce
 " has been one of the best friends I met with since my arrival
 " in Providence ; therefore a difference of this sort must
 " give me no small concern, and hope you will write to
 " captain Bruce to apologize for it."

P A T. D R O M G O L E."

Division of
the quick-sil-
ver.

As the quick-silver was to be divided among the people in shares, I had bought twenty-eight shares from the officers and some few of the men, who went home in the privateers, who left me a power to receive them from Mr. Irving, their agent ; each share was a cag and a half, and each cag weighed one hundred weight ; so that I had forty-two cags to receive. When the time for the division came round, I applied for these shares, but could only get eight cags out of the forty-two I had a right to receive ; and the agent sent me word that the rest had run out in the cellar by the bursting of the bags in the cags ; but if I would send empty bottles

bottles to put it in, he would weigh up as much as amounted to my share ; when the bottles were sent, he told my servant to come for it the next day. Mr. Keowin, the provost marshal, then attended, at my desire, to receive it, and was told by Mr. Irving that as he had not received it by weight, he would not deliver it on those terms, and since it had made its way into the cellar, he might go and gather it up himself. Upon Mr. Keowin's going into the cellar to look for it, there was none to be found. Mr. Irving had previously taken care to gather it up in jars, and convey it by negroes to his own house in the night time, which all the people in the neighbourhood offered to prove. When a complaint was made to the governor, he said that as the quick-silver had burst the bags, and was run into the cellar, he could not in justice desire Mr. Irving to deliver it, as it might have made its way to the Antipodes for ought he knew. At the same time, I had several cags run out into my own cellar, taken up without losing an ounce. This absurd and barefaced injustice in the governor, was a matter of great surprize to all the inhabitants.

The money allowed by government for fortifying this place being all expended, I intimated it to the governor, and told him I intended to go to Charlestown till a fresh supply of money could be obtained from England, to finish what was begun ; but he replied, that as a war had been proclaimed against France, I could not leave the island till fort Nassau was finished ; for which he would advance his own money, and be answerable for so doing to the board of ordnance. I told him I would not accept his money, without an order from England ; but if he would take upon him .

The captain applies again to the assembly to bring materials.

^{1743.} **BOOK XII** him to pay the tradesmen and labourers himself, I would direct the work till it was completed. This he agreed to, and I forwarded the works with the utmost diligence. As the assembly was sitting at this time, I had recourse to them again for their assistance, thereby to put it the sooner out of the enemies power to annoy them ; to which the assembly unanimously consented, and assed every taxable in the island to furnish his quota of the necessary stone and timber for finishing the work ; yet notwithstanding this went much against the grain with the triumvirate, they could not well, in the present situation of affairs, refuse their assent, so that it was affirmed by the council.

The assembly withdraw the governor's salary. The agreeable prospect the inhabitants had formed to themselves of living happily under Mr. Tinker's government, and which they had built upon the fair beginning he made, in turning out his predecessor's evil counsellors, by whom they had been so grievously oppressed, induced the assembly, on the governor's arrival, to appoint him a yearly salary of two hundred pounds sterling ; but now finding their expectations so effectually disappointed, the assembly declared that they were unable to continue the governor's salary any longer ; and finding themselves opposed in this affair by Mr. Scott, their speaker, they voted him out of the chair, and chose Mr. Florentine Cox in his place ; on which the governor dissolved the House of Assembly ; and that he might mortify them more effectually, he appointed James Scott one of his council, and made him chief-justice, treasurer, naval officer, storekeeper, &c. thereby to enable him to revenge himself upon the inhabitants.

The

The three domineering gentlemen now joined, and for book xii.
their own account built a new sloop, and had the vanity —————
to call her after their own usual distinguishing title, the ^{1743.}
Triumvirate.

The bad usage I had hitherto met with, made the go-
vernour suspect me of being instrumental in his losing his
salary, as also that I sent complaints against him to Eng-
land ; but I declared I neither did the one nor the other ;
at first indeed I did my best to persuade the assembly to settle
that salary upon him, but as soon as I learned they were
determined to with-hold his salary, I withdrew myself from
the assembly, and went no more near them ; so that I acted
neither pro nor con in that affair. Upon this Mr. Moone
wrote me the following letter, dated Fort Montagu, De-
cember 30.

“ The 27th instant I waited on governor Tinker, to know Letter from
“ his commands. As soon as I was seated he told me he was Lieutenant
“ surprised that I did not dine oftener at his house, and that
“ I kept company with persons disaffected to his govern-
“ ment ; which could be pointed at none but you, Mr.
“ Cox, and captain Petty, because of our being frequently
“ in company when I go to town. I told his excellency I
“ did not know what he meant by disaffected persons, un-
“ less he would include every body who shewed a just re-
“ sentment for injuries received from their neighbours, in
“ desiring a redress of grievances. All the answer the go-
“ vernor made me was that he hoped it would be in his
“ power to hang up two or three of them very soon.—As
“ a farther confirmation of the truth of this assertion, Mr.
“ John Thompson, one of the council for these islands, af-

H h h

“ fured

BOOK XII. " sured me, before his brother Richard Thompson, and se-
 veral of the inhabitants, that governor Tinker had ex-
^{2744.} " pressed himself lately in the same manner, in council, in
 " threatening that he would hang up some of the inhabi-
 " ants ; and confirmed the same with an oath. It is there-
 " fore incumbent upon us to be upon our guard, lest we
 " should be among the number of the proscribed. His dis-
 " solving the house of assembly at this time, because they
 " would not continue his salary, is a signal instance that he
 " prefers his own private interest to the public good.

(Signed) W. MOON E."

An opportunity soon after offered itself for his excellency's gratification in hanging people: a soldier was condemned and executed for stabbing his serjeant; and two negroes belonging to captain Laws, of the navy, formerly stationed here, who were at work for their master in the woods, cutting brazieretta, and being ill used by an overseer appointed by Mr. Scott, one of them fired a fowling-piece at the overseer, and lodged some shot in his shoulder ; for which he was hanged, and his innocent companion was also hanged, to bear him company.

At the time of these transactions I received the following letter from lieutenant-governor Bull, of South Carolina, dated Charlestown, June 22.

" As it has been determined by the government here, that
 " a new magazine, capable of holding 500 barrels of pow-
 " der, should be built in Charlestown ; and as his majesty
 " has no engineer in this province, upon the British estab-
 " lishment, consequently none with whom I can advise, or
 " who

" who can be assistant to me in the erecting such a work ; I, book XII.
" by the assembly of the province, am desired to apply to _____
" you for a plan thereof, in brick building, and which I
" request you will favour me with, together with such other
" directions as you shall judge proper. I doubt not but
" this favour will be gratefully acknowledged by the go-
" vernment here.

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(Signed) W. B U L L."

In compliance with this request I sent a plan and profile, and such directions as I thought necessary, in two weeks after the receipt of that letter, by a sloop that sailed from hence for Charlestown ; but not hearing of its being delivered, I desired lieutenant Moone, who left this the beginning of September for Carolina, in his way to London, to enquire if the plan had been delivered, who wrote me the following letter.

" Charlestown, September 14, 1744.

" Thanks to the Supreme Being, I am now out of the power of the governor of Providence, and his triumph. I have enquired about the plan of the powder magazine, which was received and laid before the council ; the reason why the receipt was not acknowledged, I find to be occasioned by the governor's arrival, and the lieutenant-governor's retiring into the country about the time it was sent. They all wish for you on account of their fortifications, and have wrote to you some time past on that head, which, I presume, you have received advice of.

Another from Charlestown.

H h h z

" I pre-

BOOK XII. "I presume the triumvirate go on as usual, Jehu
— like.

1744.

(Signed) W. MOONE.

I never received the letter Mr. Moone alludes to, nor two others written by the new governor, which Mr. Tinker took care I should not; but I received his third letter, as follows:

" Charlestown, October 9.

Letter from
governor
Glen.

" As there are some works to be carried on for the better fortifying of Charlestown, at the expence of this province,
 " and as there is, at present, no person here that is thought properly qualified for giving advice and direction in that matter, the assembly did recommend it to me to write to you, to desire the favour of your assistance: I have already written twice upon that subject, and hope by this time you are embarking for this province, where I shall endeavour that you shall meet with a kind reception. The assembly have agreed to give you three hundred pounds, money of this country, as the expence of your passage, and have likewise come to a resolution to make you a handsome present for your trouble, provided you arrive here within a month after the date of this letter.

(Signed) JAMES GLEN."

It is worthy of observation, that Mr. Tinker, at his first arrival in Providence, behaved so smoothly and civilly to all strangers, that it was soon spread over all America how happy the people now lived under his mild government; which report enticed several people of substance to come, at dif-

different times, from the Continent, Bermudas, and the Leeward Islands, with an intention of settling here, being drawn hither by its fertility and wholesome air; but upon finding how the inhabitants were oppressed, they returned from whence they came, and spreading the report wherever they went, deterred others from coming to this place; besides, all our privateers intended to have made this place their general rendezvous; but the treatment Sibbald and Dowall met with, prevented any from coming near us. And even captain Frankland, who was stationed here, would not venture to bring his prizes into this harbour, but sent them to Charlestown, to be condemned and disposed of; which very much mortified our governor, who now found by his endeavours to grasp all, he lost all. It is very much to be lamented that those fertile and valuable islands should lie uncultivated for want of people, which are capable of maintaining many thousand families with ease; but it will ever be the case, while the governors are suffered to tyrannize over the inhabitants, as nobody that can do better, will ever come to settle here, and, of consequence, they must remain uninhabited.

To convey some idea of the value of those islands, I shall endeavour to give the following account of them from my certain knowlege.

The Bahama islands enjoy the most serene and the most temperate air in all America, the heat of the sun being greatly allayed by refreshing breezes from the east; and the earth and air are cooled by constant dews which fall in the night, and by gentle showers which fall in their proper seasons; so that as they are free from the sultry heats of our other

Produce of
the Bahama
islands and ad
jacent sea.

BOOK XII. other settlements; they are as little affected with frost, snow,
— hail, or the north-west winds, which prove so fatal both to
^{1744.} men and plants in our other colonies; it is therefore no
wonder the sick and afflicted inhabitants of those climates
fly hither for relief, being sure to find a cure here. The
same causes which conduce so much to the health of man,
contribute greatly to the quick growth of plants and ve-
getables; which here is surprising, for the seeds of limes
flung carelessly into the ground without any culture, be-
come, in two or three years, shrubs or little trees in full
bearing.

All the islands vary in their extent; while some exceed a hundred miles in length, others are very inconsiderable; the principal are the Bahamas, Lucayos (or Abaco), Harbour-Island, Eluthera, St. Salvador (or Cat-Island), Exuma, Yumeta (or Long-Island), Andros, the Biinines, and Providence, which lies near the centre of the whole, in lat. 25 degrees north, with a fine harbour, which has fifteen feet on its bar at low water, and is formed by Hog-Island, which is three miles long, and now fort Nassau commands the west entrance, and Montagu the east.

All these islands are covered over with wood, as indeed is all America, but with this essential difference, that here the trees themselves sufficiently pay the labour of cutting them down, exclusive of the benefit which results from clearing a fertile soil; for not to mention the mastich tree and other timber so useful in building houses, mills, &c. here are Madeira, mahogany, and cedar, all used in ship building; besides vast quantities of curious woods, as prince-wood, yellow-wood, box, naked-wood (most beautifully veined

and marbled), lignum vitæ, black and red iron-wood, ebony, manchinelle, black seney, dog-wood, pines, palmettos ; and many dying woods, as log-wood, brazilletta, green and yellow fustick ; they have likewise trees of valuable bark, which are no where else in such quantity and perfection ; among which are the cortex cluthera, or wild cinnamon, growing in such abundance that they exported annually between sixty and seventy tons to Curaſoe, and the other Dutch settlements, where it is made use of in distilling cinnamon waters ; the cortex Winterania, a sweet-scented bark, which is also carried to the Dutch, and by them transported to the Levant, where the Turks burn it for perfume and incense. The wild vines are in great plenty in the woods, and when cultivated, are as good as any I ever saw ; here is also the myrtle, from which the green wax candles are made.

They have tamarinds equal to any in the world ; the Lucca olive, as well as the wild kind ; oranges (sweet, sour, and bitter), lemons, limes, citrons, pomgranates, plums, sugar apples, pine apples, figs, papues, sapodylles, bananas, fowerfops, water and musk melons, yams, potatoes, gourds, cucumbers, cod and bird pepper, guavas, casava, plantains, prickly pears, oil of castor, sugar, ginger, coffee, indigo, cotton preferable to that in the Levant, and tobacco ; Indian wheat, Guinea-corn, and peas : besides these all the roots of Europe grow wonderfully quick, and to a surprising size. The flowering shrubs and other plants are so aromatic, that they perfume the air to a great distance.

Their wild fowl and birds are, the flamingo, sometimes to be met with in flocks of two or three hundred ; it is a tall bird, six feet high, of a most beautiful plumage, being red all

BOOK XII. all over the body, with black wings ; they are excellent eating ; wild geese, ducks, pigeons, and green parrots in great plenty ; besides whistling ducks, Musketo hawks, tobacco doves, crab-catchers, galldings, drossels, mocking birds, and humming birds.

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The sea hereabouts abounds with fish unknown to us in Europe ; those of prey are crocodiles, alligators, sharks, dolphins, sword-fish, sea-devils, spermacæti-whales, grampus, porpoises, seals, nurses, and snappers ; those for food are, the king-fish, jew-fish, hog-fish, pork-fish, mutton-fish, rock-fish, Margaret-fish, cuckold-fish, coney-fish, angle-fish, bill-fish, hound-fish, gar-fish, parrot-fish, blue-fish, sucking-fish, tang-fish, trumpet-fish, porjes, grups, jacks, hynes, old wives, grunts, skate, schoolmaster, breams, ten-pounders, stingers, ryspree, mullets, senets, baracuda, ship-jacks, albecores, rainbow, threshers, mackrel, hedge-hogs, pilots, shads, pilchards, sailor's choice, squirrels, and cavalry ; many of these are excellent eating, but such as feed on the copperas banks are poisonous, affecting the joints of those who eat them with itching pains, and the disorder goes off by rubbing the parts ; the method used to distinguish the fish is by putting a spoon, or piece of silver, into the water in which it is boiled, which turns black if the fish is poisonous. They make plenty of oil from the nurses, seals, &c. and a beneficial whale fishery might be established here, as that fish comes in great numbers to wean their young among the islands, and several have been thrown ashore, full of the spermacæti ; there is likewise found in the shore much ambergrise. Their shell-fish are conques, periwinkles, coneys, fogers, wilkes, cuckolds, craw-fish, lobsters, crabs ; they have also the land-crab, and many forts

sorts of tortoises, of which the hawk-bill is the most valuable for its fine shell, and the green kind for eating; the greatest number of which are taken at the Bimini islands. There is also ambergrise found in considerable quantities on these shores.

There are no animals which can be said to be peculiar to those islands, excepting the guana, which is found in great numbers on Andros, which lies five leagues south-west from Providence; it is a small creature, with short legs, and a short tapering tail, somewhat resembling the lizard or alligator, and is about two feet in length; it is esteemed delicious eating, and is taken in great plenty by the people of Providence. On some of the other islands are numbers of wild hogs, sheep, and goats, which are produced from a breed left there by the inhabitants; and from which they are now supplied with fresh meat when they go to cut dye woods, or rake salt at Exuma, of which they export yearly many ship loads to our northern colonies on the continent.

In short, it is their own fault if the inhabitants want any of the necessaries of life: they have horses, cows, sheep, goats, hogs, and all sorts of poultry, and have grass all the year round; but they neither sow nor plant more than is necessary for maintaining their own families; whereby one of the most fertile parts of our West Indies is neglected for want of cultivation. They depend on their cargoes of salt, mahogany plank, dying wood, tortoises, fruit, &c. which they sell to great advantage; and likewise upon the shipwrecks, which happen frequently upon those extensive banks; all which make them careless in improving the na-

BOOK XII. tural produce of that fertile country which, were it once well peopled, would soon be in a flourishing situation.

^{1744.} ~~Insects.~~ The greatest inconvenience they have here is from the plague of numerous vermin, or insects, which torment them both night and day; as bugs, cock-roches, musquitos, flies, sand-flies, ants, and trigers: the last kind are no larger than a mite, and are very troublesome to strangers; they get through the soles of people's feet, and lodge between the skin and the flesh, where they lay their eggs and breed, if not timely prevented, which is done by picking them out with the point of a needle, at which the negroes are very dexterous; and care must be taken to get out the bag (as they call it) with the eggs, and then they fill the wound with tobacco or snuff; but if they are suffered to remain, they cause most intolerable itching pains, and great swelling in the legs, which are often attended with danger to the life. The ants are also very troublesome, by creeping into the houses and beds, and require care and attention to keep them from the victuals, especially sugar, of which they will carry off a great quantity in a night's time. The musquitos and sand-flies come in great swarms in the evening from the woods, and people are obliged to drive them off with smoke round their houses all night long: this inconvenience is chiefly occasioned by their not clearing the ground from those thickets of underwood; an instance of which we experienced at fort Montagu, where I cleared away all the wood within cannon shot, and there, by that means, was happily delivered from the insects both by day and night. The governor took the example, and cleared to a considerable

able distance from his own house, and several of the inhabitants were beginning to do the same.

The Bahama islands, in general, are more conveniently situated for annoying the Spaniards in time of war than any of all our other settlements, especially two of them. The first is Salvador (or Cat-Island) the eastermost of the whole; it lies clear of the bank, and surrounded by the ocean; is most conveniently situated for intercepting the outward-bound trade of Old Spain; lies between the 24th and 25th degrees of north latitude; is 45 miles long by 7 broad, 28 miles from Eluthera, and 90 from Providence.

1744.
Observations
on St. Salva-
dor and the
Bimini
islands.

The next is the Biminis, 105 miles west from Providence, 120 north from the Havannah, and only 60 from the continent of Florida; by which it has the full command of the gulph, through which all the homeward-bound trade of the Spanish West Indies must pass: in war time this would be the most advantageous station in all British America. The harbour is formed by two islands; the west, and principal entry is from the gulph, and only a quarter of a mile broad, where, and all within, it has only ten feet at low water, and eighteen at high water; it is secured by rocks on the north, but first-rate ships can ride close to the western shore, free from all winds; the east entry is only for boats, and is dry at low water; these entries are only two miles distant from each other, but the harbour is six miles in length from north to south, and could contain all the privateers of America. The Spanish homeward-bound ships generally take in their wood and water here; and here the people of Providence catch most of their tortoise, and are frequently taken, and carried prisoners to the Havannah. The island

~~BOOK XII.~~ is twelve miles long and two broad. It was the general opinion if two or three floops of war had been stationed at ^{1744.} this place when general Oglethorpe besieged St. Augustine, they would effectually have prevented the Spaniards from fending their gallies from the Havannah, with men and ammunition to their relief, and the place must have fallen into that general's hands, as the Spaniards were in great want of both at that time, and must have surrendered. This harbour might be easily secured by a small fort with a sea battery, as the entrance is so narrow : it lies in 25 degrees north latitude. The Bahama island lies 48 miles north, and Andros 60 south, from this ; but none of all these valuable islands are inhabited, excepting Providence, Harbour Island, and Eluthera.

The inhabitants of Providence.

The inhabitants of Providence, Harbour Island, and Eluthera, consisted at this time of English, Scotch, Irish, Bermudians, mulattos, free negroes, and slaves ; their whole number were

Heads of families,	-	-	-	-	310
Women and children,	-	-	-	-	689
Negro, male slaves,	-	-	-	-	426
Black women and children,		-	-	-	538
The independent company, officers included,		-	-	-	100
Harbour Island and Eluthera in all,		-	-	-	240
Total inhabitants of the Bahamas,					2303

white and black men, women, and children ; which might maintain more thousands, than they have hundreds.

Fort

Fort Nassau and Sea Battery were finished the latter end BOOK XII.
of December, which I rebuilt almost from the foundation, as —————
I found them in a very shattered ruinous condition : I found
it necessary to add a new bastion in place of an old square
tower, and built in it the powder magazine and gunner's
store, each of them to contain 300 barrels of powder ; and
under the east curtain three large stores, or casemates, and
a gate, all bomb-proof ; above the gate an arched apart-
ment for the governor, with a view of the whole town and
harbour ; upon each point of the bastions are sentry boxes
of stone ; through the west curtain is a sally port and case-
mates, also bomb-proof, before which is the sea battery ;
and the whole is surrounded with pallisades of mastich wood,
eight inches square, and three inches distant from each
other, eight feet above ground, and two feet sunk in the
rock, well secured above and below with rails and braces.
As there were formerly no buildings within the fort, except
barracks of wood entirely decayed, I built new barracks of
stone to contain six hundred men, and a suitable set of apart-
ments for officers ; likewise a kitchen and bake-house, with
two ovens, above which are apartments for the chaplain,
surgeon, gunner, and armourer ; within the fort is a well
with fresh water, and one before each gate within the pal-
lisades. The whole is mounted with fifty-four pieces of
cannon, 6, 9, 12, and 18 pounders, all on new carriages,
besides twenty-six brass mortars, two of which are of 7
inches, twelve of $5\frac{1}{2}$ and twelve of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, mounted on
new beds.

The finishing of both those forts cost government no Cost of both
forts.
more than four thousand pounds, whereas a former esti-

1744.
Description of
fort Nassau.

BOOK XII. mate, for the same thing, came to twelve thousand, two hundred fifty-four pounds nine shillings and ten pence three farthings ; but as I happened to come here at a time when war was declared, and we were threatened with an invasion, and being then exposed to the insults of an enemy, the inhabitants very frankly provided materials for their own security, which, with the other frugal methods I took, saved the government several thousand pounds ; but I was ill rewarded for this my faithful and dangerous service.

When all was finished, the governor and I attested each other's accounts, and I gave him a bill on the board of ordnance for two thousand and four hundred pounds he had laid out toward finishing those works, and he gave me, at the same time, a certificate of my having performed and finished all the works necessary to be done in the island of Providence, which I gave in to the board of ordnance on my arrival in London.

As Mr. Tinker was conscious how far he deserved complaints to be entered against him, he sent his secretary, John Snow, by the way of Jamaica to London, to forestall any complaints that might be entered there against him ; but he might have saved himself both the trouble and expence, for I neither mentioned, nor intended to mention, his name in London, knowing that a redress of grievances is not easily obtained.

While I was preparing for my departure for Carolina, captain Jelf, of the Swallow sloop of war, with his officers, arrived here in a boat ; he had been sent from Charlestown with two brass mortars, and a quantity of bomb

shells, that had been lent to general Oglethorp in his expe- BOOK VII
dition to St. Augustine, and his ship was cast away on the ———
rocks of Abaco : what surprised me was, his having the
same pilot on board that came with us in the Tartar man of
war, under whose conduct we very narrowly escaped being
wrecked upon the very same rocks. Captain Jelf had in-
tended to carry me with him to Carolina, but was now
very glad to take his passage with me in a sloop I had hired.

When every thing was ready for our departure, and as I
was informed that Stuart's sloop was to go to Abaco to bring
what could be saved from the wreck of the Swallow, I sent
my overseer with an open letter to him, demanding his at-
tendance at Abaco, to give me satisfaction for the treacherous
insult I had received from him : he sent me word that he
would go to the governor and ask his leave, and soon again
returned me for answer that he could not obtain it ; upon
which I wrote to the governor, and reminded his excellency
of the insult I had received from Stuart, and the promise
he gave me, upon his word of honour, to order him, as
soon as the works were finished, to attend me ; and as his
sloop was going to the wreck, I hoped he would perform
his engagement, as this gave us a proper opportunity to de-
cide that affair ; but Mr. Tinker gave me an absolute re-
fusal, well knowing himself as much in fault as the other :
on this, I wrote again to Stuart, telling him that I knew
he had a law-suit depending at Charlestown, which would
soon require his presence there, and that I would wait five
or six months for him ; to which he replied, he would at-
tend me there. These requisitions I had determined to make
in as public a manner as I could, and transacted them be-
fore

BOOK XII fore captain Jelf, and his officers, collector Boothby, and
— captain Cox, that he might not have an opportunity to
^{1744.} deny facts; yet, notwithstanding Stuart's friends and at-
tornies at Charlestown represented the necessity of his per-
sonal appearance there, as the whole success of his law-
suit depended on it, and his own repeated assertions that
he was just coming over, he never made his appearance all
the five months I stayed there, and thereby lost his cause,
which was matter of diversion at Charlestown, where cap-
tain Jelf and his officers had made the reason of his not
appearing as well known as it was at Providence, and
was afterwards revived by Boothby and Cox.

^{1745.} On the 5th of January I went on board the Pelham sloop,
The captain leaves Providence,
a new vessel built of mahogany, by Florentine Cox, who
also commanded her, and we sailed the same day, with cap-
tain Jelf and his officers, and arrived next day at Abaco,
where the wreck lay. We were detained several days in col-
lecting the crew of the Swallow, who were dispersed over
the island; and with the addition of their number (120)
we were sufficiently crowded in the Pelham. Stuart's sloop
recovered the mortars and shells, and the guns, anchors,
sails and rigging belonging to the Swallow, which were all
sold at Providence; and, as I was credibly informed by
letter, were afterwards sold to the Spaniards. We had fine
weather and a pleasant passage in the Pelham, attended daily
by a number of sharks. Captain Cox, a native of Ber-
mudas, who are esteemed the most dexterous fishers in the
world, caught upwards of a score of them in a day: his
method was by hanging out a rope, with a noose at the
end of it, through which he hung a piece of beef; when
the

1745.

the shark approached the beef, it was pulled forward through the noose, so that the shark in pursuit of it was flung by the tail, which is large and broad, and in that manner was pulled on board. Some of the sharks were so large, that when their tail was even with the gunnel, the half of their bodies were under water; we cut these over-grown ones through the middle, and let them drop into the water again, where they were soon torn to pieces by their voracious companions, which afforded us diverting amusement; but as the young are good eating, we brought them on deck, and cut them up for the people, who were thereby plentifully supplied with fresh provisions, which was a fortunate circumstance, as we had not provisions for such a number; but it is a common saying, that a Bermudian will never die for want at sea, if he is provided with fishing tackle.

In the evening of the 21st of January we arrived before Charlestown bar, and as it was then growing dark, low water, and blowing hard, we did not think it prudent to venture over the bar; but two of the English seamen belonging to the Swallow informing captain Jelf that the Irish sailors on board, who were the greater number, had entered into a combination to secure us, and carry the vessel to Augustine, made us attempt to get over the bar. We were no sooner on the bar than she struck, and thumped eighteen times with such violence that every shock lifted us from our feet; but as the tide was then beginning to flow, it was with no small difficulty we got her about again, and put out to sea, but so leaky that it required our utmost efforts to keep the vessel from going down. We fired frequent guns of distress, which prevented the mutineers from

Arrive at
Charlestown,

K k k

at-

BOOK XII. attempting at that time to enter upon the execution of

^{1745.}

their project. Captain Jelf, in the midst of our confusion, and under favour of the darkness, had sent off his officers in the boat to the commodore to inform him of our danger ; and by day-break next morning two long boats were dispatched full of men, well armed, to our assistance ; and a twenty gun ship was sent down to the bar to be ready to follow us in case of need. This armament quite confounded the mutineers, and we were no sooner within the bar, than they were all secured in irons on board the man of war, and we got at last safe to Charlestown on the 22d, chiefly owing to the strength of our vessel, otherwise we must have perished ; but she was very much shattered by the many shocks she got on the bar. The distance of Providence to this place is 7 degrees, or 420 geographical miles.

Here I met a kind reception from the governor, council, and assembly, who desired that I would, without loss of time, proceed to survey the place, and give my opinion touching what I thought was farther necessary to be done for their greater security and defence. After I had taken a full survey of the place, and had examined the nature of the morass that lies before the town, and sounded Hog Island Creek, I gave in the following report.

Report of the
strength of
Charlestown.

" As this town is built on a point of land, and surrounded " on the east, south, and west sides by Cooper and Ashley, " two large navigable rivers, which render those three sides " strong by nature, yet I observe that all that has hitherto " been done toward fortifying this place is all toward those " rivers ; whereas the north side of the town, toward the main

“ land, is neglected and left open, exposed to the insults of ~~BOOK~~ ^{1745.} XU.
“ an enemy, who, by the nearness of the woods, might at ——————
“ any time surprize the town. This place is subject to
“ the same danger by sea; for although the bar is a great
“ security, and fort Johnson commands the usual passage
“ to the town, yet as there is another passage at Hog Island
“ Creek, of greater depth of water than is upon the bar it-
“ self, and an enemy may pass that way without being ex-
“ posed to the guns of fort Johnson, or to those upon the
“ curtain-line next the river, they may by that means get
“ behind the town, where it is altogether defenceless, and
“ make themselves masters of it.

“ I am therefore of opinion that a canal ought to be
“ cut at the free-school, six or eight fathoms wide, and
“ eight or ten feet deep, from the one marsh to the other,
“ it being only 120 fathoms in length; this would prevent
“ a surprize by land. In the next place, to prevent a sur-
“ prize by sea, a fascine battery ought to be erected at
“ Rahte’s point, being the only proper landing place, and
“ another battery at Anson’s house, each of six or eight guns
“ of the largest size, to command the passage through Hog
“ Island Creek, should an enemy attempt to pass it; besides,
“ Rahte’s point might be flanked by the guns of Craven’s
“ bastion, as well as by those at Anson’s house; and after
“ that passage is thus secured, it would be necessary to erect
“ a large battery upon the marsh opposite to the town,
“ part of which is solid and firm, and what is not may be
“ made so by driving piles; this battery should be in form
“ of a horse-shoe, mounted with thirty pieces of cannon
“ of the largest size, which would not only command Re-

BOOK XII. " bellion-road, but also both channels (that of Johnson's
 _____ " Fort and Hog Island) by which the keeping up of John-
 1745. " son's Fort will become needless, more especially if the bat-
 " tery begun at the point near Granvill's bastion was finish-
 " ed, and that will also render Broughton's battery need-
 " less.

" In the next place I am of opinion that it would be very
 " necessary to erect a regular fort, with four bastions, upon
 " the neck of land between the workhouse and free-school,
 " which would not only cover the town, but command both
 " rivers; and it would be a considerable addition to the
 " strength of such fort if it were surrounded with palisades,
 " which, in case of an attack, might be lined with negroes
 " either from the town or country: no danger could arise
 " to the inhabitants from their being entrusted with fire
 " arms, since they would be immediately under the eye of
 " their masters, and they would have no access to the fort,
 " or any communication with the works, but within the
 " palisades alone, where they would prove a great annoy-
 " ance to an enemy.

" The more I consider the situation and circumstances of
 " the place, the more I am confirmed in opinion of the
 " utility and necessity of a fort or citadel, as the town is
 " quite open on that side to the incursions of the Indians;
 " two hundred of whom, by approaching in small parties
 " through the woods, might do great mischief in one
 " night. Your country negroes are quiet at present, but
 " they have not always been so; and their late attempts at
 " Antigua, New York, and Jamaica, may be sufficient warn-
 " ing to any country, where they are so numerous, to pro-
 " vide

" vide against accidents, and consider of a force that may book xii.
" be turned against them ; the town negroes also will be
" more faithful when they know it is impossible for them
" to escape if they should misbehave. I could mention
" many more advantages that would arise from fortifying
" this important pass; for there is no doubt but there are
" people in all towns, who, on the approach of an enemy,
" would wish to be as far removed from the danger as pos-
" sible, who, knowing there is no escaping, will do their
" duty ; besides, it will greatly encourage every man to
" exert himself when his wife, children, and most valuable
" effects are in a place of security. I might likewise take
" notice that within this fort there might be houses for the
" governor, the council, and assembly ; and barracks for
" officers and soldiers, besides work-houses, prisons, maga-
" zines, arsenals, store-houses, &c. It is therefore my op-
" nion that no enemy we may expect in this part of the
" world would venture to attempt this town, knowing of
" such a strength, till they had made themselves masters of
" this fort ; and as that could not be attacked but on the
" land side, two or three hundred men would defend it,
" unless in the event of a general assault.

" I have prepared two plans of a fort, which I herewith
" lay before you ; the one of four regular bastions, the other
" of two bastions, with a raveline before the curtain, to-
" ward the continent, and two demi-bastions next the town.
" My not laying before you an estimate of the charges of
" such works, is owing to my being an entire stranger to
" the prices of materials and labour ; but it may be easily
" computed by gentlemen conversant in building, as I
" have

BOOK XII. " have annexed both the quantity and quality of the several
 works that are necessary to be done. But in case this

1745. " government should find the expence of erecting such a
 fort to exceed their expectation, and be thereby deterred
 from putting it in execution; then my next propo-
 sal is to cut a moat, or ditch, with a curtain line from
 Craven's Bastion to the work-house, strengthened in the
 middle by a bastion, and a demi-bastion next to Ashley
 River, by which means the town will be inclosed on the
 land side from one river to the other, and this may be done
 with sods."

A committee of some of the members of the council and assembly were appointed to make an estimate of those works: and as an entire want of stone in this country obliges them to build their works of strength with brick, and they have no lime but what they make of oyster and other sea shells, together with the very high price of labour, they found the execution of those plans would amount to a considerable sum; and as their treasury, at this time, was not in a condition to support the charge, they were of opinion that they should endeavour to negotiate a loan from England at three per cent. or obtain an act of parliament to enable them to raise one hundred thousand pounds of their own currency, by issuing paper notes, and to petition that an able engineer might be sent from London to execute those plans, as they did not choose to trust the execution of them to colonel Baile, their present engineer, alledging he had already run them into great expence in erecting works of no signification. They pressed me very earnestly to stay with them by offering to double my pay, and to shew me other fa-
 vours.

vours. I observed if they had applied to me when I came ^{BOOK XII.} out to Providence, I could have carried on their works at the same time ; but as that opportunity was now past, it was at present out of my power to comply with their request, without an order from the board of ordnance. Besides, as those gentlemen were very dilatory in their determinations, and in a bad understanding with their governor, I should have met with great difficulty to please both parties. However, as they seemed most pleased with my last plan, as the easiest and cheapest, at the desire of governor Glen, I gave full instructions to colonel Eaile how it was to be performed, and recommended him to the committee for the execution of it, with assurances that they might safely trust him. The two batteries at Rahte's Point, and Anson's House, for the security of the passage through Hog Island Creek, were begun. The gentlemen of Charlestown made me a present of fifty guineas, alledging that as I was only on my way to England, and not come there with any intention to stay and serve them, they could not make me the return they intended to have done, if I had come with a design of being serviceable to them in putting my plans in execution.

We had a visit at this time from a war captain, or Indian king as they called him, with about one hundred Cherokee Indians in his retinue, under pretence of renewing his alliance with king George ; but the real object, I believe, was to receive the customary presents. They come all naked on those occasions, and return well clad ; they are well shaped, generally of an olive colour, with their faces painted in many different ways, according to their different ideas of conveying Visit from a
Cherokee
king.

ter-

BOOK XII terror to their enemies. Some have one side black, and the other red ; others with four different colours ; their heads
^{1745.} were adorned with all sorts of feathers, intermixed with down, by way of powder ; they cover their nakedness with a small piece of skin, or leather ; they are excessively fond of spirits, which they will drink till they are quite drunk. Their camp was a mile from the town, to which they returned every night, and after a week's stay, being all new clad, and receiving the customary presents, they decamped, and returned home. I omitted to mention that their king, or chief, with two of his principal officers and three women, were new clothed before they made their public entry into the town ; then the chief with his two nobles were brought in state in a coach drawn by six horses, to the council chamber, where they made their speech, which consisted in a very few words, assuring us of their steady attachment to the crown of Britain : after the ceremonial part of their visit was ended, they shook hands with every one in the room, took their leave, and were conducted back to their camp, in the coach that brought them ; they were neither painted nor adorned with feathers, as the rest, but were decently clad in blue cloth, and each a gold laced hat, with which they seemed very well pleased.

Captain
Frankland's
rich prize.

Captain Thomas Frankland brought in here a very rich French prize, whose principal loading consisted in pistoles, a few chests of dollars, and a great deal of wrought gold and silver ; the quantity was so great, that the shares were delivered by weight, to save the trouble of counting it ; so that pistoles were now seen in Charlestown in greater plenty than the dollars had been in Providence, which could not but

but be very mortifying to governor Tinker, who was thereby BOOK XII.
deprived of the profits accruing from her condemnation,
considering captain Frankland was stationed there; but he
met with this mortification in general, as no privateer
would ever enter with their prizes into the harbour of Pro-
vidence after the treatment that Sibbald and Dowall had met
with. After all the cargo was taken out of this prize, and
the vessel was to be put up to sale, the French captain told
captain Frankland that if he would engage to reward him
handsomely, he would discover a hidden treasure to him,
which no one knew of but himself. Captain Frankland
engaged to reward him very generously, and he did disco-
ver thirty thousand pistoles in a place, where no one could
have thought of finding any thing. The French captain
afterwards told governor Glen, that captain Frankland's ge-
nerosity consisted only in one thousand pistoles; a poor
reward, he said, for so great a discovery. Captain Frank-
land made another very accidental discovery: he had taken
into his own service a brisk little French boy, who had be-
longed to the French captain, who, having a walking stick
of no value, one of the sailors had taken it from him: the
boy lamented his loss so much, that captain Frankland or-
dered search to be made for it, to return it to the boy:
the stick was brought to the captain, who seeing it of no
value, asked the boy how he could make so much ado
about such a trifle. The boy replied briskly, he could not
walk like a gentleman, and show his airs without a stick in
his hand; upon the captain's going to return him the stick,
he gave him a tap on the shoulder with it, and finding some-
thing rattle in the inside of it, withdrew to a room by him-

^{1745.} **BOOK XII.** self, and taking off the head of it, he found jewels (according to the French captain's report) worth twenty thousand pistoles ; who had given the stick to the boy when he surrendered, in hopes of saving it, as no body would take notice of such a trifle in a boy's hand. Upon the whole, she was a considerable prize to captain Frankland.

About the same time, captain Joseph Hamer, of the Flamborough man of war, brought in here a Spanish prize, with such a quantity of dollars on board that he shared twelve thousand for himself.

A short de-
scription of
Carolina.

Carolina is now so well known, that I need not give a description of it ; yet I cannot omit mentioning that it is, in general, very low and flat, the soil being, for the most part, sand interspersed with swamps and marshes, which yield great plenty of rice, with which they have carried on a considerable trade ; but as the demand for it was lessened by the war, the inhabitants turned their thoughts to the culture of indigo, and have brought that article to considerable perfection. They have abundance and variety of fruits ; but their oranges and vines are frequently blasted by the north winds ; mulberry trees grow here in plenty to great perfection, so that they might easily breed a number of silk worms, which would add a very beneficial branch to their trade. The face of the country is covered with wood ; their live oak, which is an evergreen, is, in my opinion, preferable to English oak for ship-building ; their pines grow to a prodigious size, fit for any masts. Their woods abound with all kinds of venison and wild fowl, especially turkeys and summer ducks ; the latter came from the interior parts of the country, since the planting of rice ; they are

ex-

extremely beautiful, and are kept about gentlemen's houses BOOK XII. as a rarity. Whistling birds are here in great variety, of which the mocking bird is the most entertaining ; they come in numbers out of the woods, and are so very tame and familiar that they perch on the house tops, and on the trees before the windows, especially when they either hear music or singing, to which they listen with great attention, and afterwards repeat the notes. I took several of them and the summer ducks to bring with me to Britain, but in spite of all my care they died at sea.

The Rose and Flamborough men of war having got their orders in the latter end of May to sail for England, and take such merchant men as were ready to sail under their convoy, I took my passage with captain Hamer in the Flamborough. I put a quantity of quick-silver, mahogany plank, dyeing-wood, and cotton, on board two of the merchant ships for London, in equal proportion, not being able to get those goods insured here. The one was afterwards taken in the English Channel, and carried into St. Malos ; the other arrived safe at Cowes in the Isle of Wight. We sailed from Charlestown on the 1st of June, with five merchant men under our convoy ; and after two days sail in fine weather, with a fair wind, we left the five ships under our convoy in the night, and made the best of our way homewards, with very pleasant weather. We past to the northward of the Azores, or Western Islands, and one evening we discovered three sail to windward, bearing down upon us. In the morning one of them, which was a prime sailor, having left the others at a very considerable distance, came pretty near up with us, and perceiving her to be a ship of

BOOK XII. war, captain Frankland made the signal to put about and meet her; which she perceiving, immediately made back to
1745. her consorts, and we proceeded on our course again, and saw no more of them; nor did we see any more ships till we got into the Channel, where we met a large man of war and a frigate, under Dutch colours. On hailing them, they told us they were from Helvoetsluys, bound for the Mediterranean, to cruise against the Algerines, and at parting they saluted us with nine guns, which we returned by the same number. In the evening we got into Plymouth harbour, followed by two merchantmen, a Dane and a Dutchman, who both informed us that the ships we had hailed were French; that the man of war was the Elizabeth, who had a little before had an engagement with the Lion, and that the frigate in company had the Pretender's eldest son on board, which our captains would not believe, but regarded as a mere fable; but the event afterwards evinced the truth of it. After one day's stay in the Sound we sailed for the Downs, and arrived off Dover the 25th of July, when, according to our ship's reckoning from Carolina, we had sailed five thousand two hundred miles. I went ashore at Dover, and got to London on the 27th.

Arrive at
London.

On my arrival I found every body in the utmost consternation upon the news of the Pretender's son being landed in the north of Scotland, at a time when both the king and army were abroad, which afterwards brought the nation to no small trouble and expence. After I had delivered my report and accounts to the board of ordnance, and settled my own affairs, I was ordered to repair to Hull, where the magistrates had petitioned the board to send them

an engineer to direct them how to carry on their fortifications, which they were at this time repairing at their own charge. I arrived at Hull on the 8th of October, where I found people of all ranks industriously employed in deepening and clearing out their moats and forming their parapets; next day I attended lieutenant-general Jones, deputy-governor, the mayor and aldermen, round the ramparts; I was surprised to see the great progress they had made in so short a time, and to as good purpose as if they had been directed by an able engineer. At their desire I left them further directions how to proceed for the better defence of the place; and having received a great many civilities from them, I proceeded, in obedience to my orders, to join the army under marshal Wade.

On the 15th I arrived at Doncaster, where the Dutch troops had joined us; on the 18th the marshal reviewed the army, and broke up the camp on the 21st to proceed northward; the Dutch behaved on the march as if they had been in an enemy's country, robbing, plundering, and abusing the country people; the particulars of their behaviour are too shocking to relate. On the 31st we arrived at Newcastle, where we encamped in very cold, bad weather; and here receiving intelligence that the rebels had besieged Carlisle, we broke up to march to its relief, leaving near one-fourth of our army sick in the hospital.

On the 18th of November we got to Hexham in Northumberland, in extreme cold weather, which march, with the sudden transition from a warm to a cold climate, entirely ruined my health, being seized with a rupture and an asthma, which disabled me from standing the hard fatigues

BOOK XI. tigues of a winter campaign. We were informed here that
— Carlisle had surrendered to the rebels, on which we marched
^{1745.} back to Newcastle, where we arrived the 22d. The weather was now become so intensely cold, that the army could not pitch their tents, so they were quartered in the town and adjacent villages. In this situation we received intelligence that the rebels had marched for Wales, which made us leave our warm quarters, and march southward. On the 6th of December we reached Ferrybridge, from whence we sent our sick to Doncaster, and our horse and dragoons to join his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, and we arrived at Leeds on the 11th, where we were informed the rebels had returned back for the North, on which our army marched back again.

F I N I S.

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